The idea of the resurrection in the Anti-Nicene period.

Dissertation ...
by
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PREFACE

This treatise aims to trace historically the development of the idea of the resurrection from its origin in the Old Testament, through Jewish and Christian literature, to the end of the first quarter of the fourth century. The precise theme is the resurrection of Jesus and of men as held in the ante-Nicene period. To discover this, the extant literature of this period has been carefully studied and investigated. The volumes in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* have been read, and passages pertaining to the resurrection studied in critical editions of the Fathers. The material is so grouped and treated that the story of the resurrection may be readily followed through the various stages. The aim of the author has been not merely to set forth the different historical strata in the idea of the resurrection, but also to deal with influences and inferences, in the hope that through this extensive study in early Christian literature suggestions may have been given for a more intensive study of the question of the resurrection in the New Testament and of the facts pertaining to the resurrection of Jesus. The author wishes to acknowledge special obligation to Professor Ernest D. Burton, of the University of Chicago, for generous help and inspiration.

C. K. S.

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CHAPTER I

JEWISH AND GREEK LITERATURE

This essay aims to trace the idea of the resurrection, both of Jesus and of men, as held in the ante-Nicene period. The literature of the period has been carefully studied with a view of ascertaining what men thought about the resurrection and what doctrines they held concerning it. The problem is confined mainly to a discussion of the precise nature and character of the resurrection. The distinction between the resurrection and the larger subject of the future life—to which belongs the conception of Hades, judgment, second coming, millennium, future rewards and punishments, and redemption—is constantly kept in mind. However, all these elements of eschatology are often knit up with the resurrection; and so far as they present collateral testimony to the resurrection they are brought into the discussion. Moreover, in the history of the resurrection-idea, especially in the early strata, a constant distinction is made between the resurrection of the Jews and that of the Gentiles, and between the resurrection of the righteous and that of the wicked. But this again is not the main subject of our study, and is considered only when it throws light and shade upon a more vital and intricate problem. The essential purpose of the essay is to set forth the nature of that which was supposed to continue in the after-life.

A prerequisite to the study of the resurrection in early Christian literature is a knowledge of the New Testament conception. But even this does not comprise all the necessary antecedent conditions. The idea of the resurrection did not leap into life full-grown, having its first appearance in the New Testament; it passed through certain stages and a long period of development. There are presuppositions to the New Testament material which dare not be overlooked; for the earliest conceptions are genetically related to the New Testament teachings, and besides, the literature of pre-Christian times exerted a direct influence on post-apostolic times. Inquiry must, therefore, be made into the Old Testament and into later Jewish writings, whether Palestinian or Alexandrian. Another very important prerequisite is the Graeco-Roman idea of immortality, the influence of which was both positive and negative in early Christian literature. The Jewish and Greek literature is therefore examined with a view of determining the idea or ideas which were held concerning the after-life before, or

contemporaneous with, New Testament literature. The matter being introductory, the results are succinctly stated. In every document an effort is constantly made to discover whether the idea of the nature of that which is to rise, was uniformly held; or whether two, three, or even more conceptions were current.

The beginnings of a belief in individual resurrection are found in the Old Testament in at least two passages. That death is the end of life but not the end of existence was, however, the most common position among the Hebrews. At death, it was thought, the shades pass to Sheol where they continue in a semiconscious state. Those who have gone thither return no more, and none escape it (Job 7:9,10; 10:21,22). In some psalms there is a trace of the thought of eternal life in God in the other world (49:15) but not of hope for a resurrection. In Psalm 17:15, the phrase, "when I awake," does not mean awake from death, but from sleep. There is in the Old Testament, for the most part, nothing to look for beyond the grave and no hope of a resurrection.

On the other hand, there arose, in connection with the messianic hopes, a belief in the restoration of the nation, in which the dead as well as the living Jews were to participate. With this hope the resurrection from the dead is logically connected. In its simplest form it was a revival of Israel. Many of the religious conceptions which were later appropriated to the individual were in the first place altogether national. The resurrection was no exception to this general tendency in which the larger unit of the nation was gradually displaced by the smaller unit of the individual. This appears in those words of Hosea (6:1,2) in which, in a dramatic representation in the form of a soliloquy and of a dialogue between Jehovah and the people, the people acknowledge their chastisement to be from God, and express the conviction that in a short time he will deliver them and that they shall live again under his protection. The same is true of Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones (37:1–14). The passage is not a literal prophecy of the resurrection of the individual persons of the nation, dead or slain, but of a resurrection of the nation, whose condition is figuratively expressed and even so avowed when it is said that these bones are the whole house of Israel. The first mention of an unmistakable individual resurrection is in Isa. 26:19, in which a hope in a resurrection from Sheol is clearly expressed through a prayer for the resurrection of individuals.[1] The writer looks forward to the setting up of the kingdom in the city of strength, whose walls and bulwarks are salvation and whose gates will open that the righteous nation may enter (26:1,2). And since the nation was

[1] Cf. 26:14, and see Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaje, ad loc.*

but few in number the righteous dead shall rise and share the blessedness of the regenerate nation. Another definite prophecy of the resurrection of the dead is recorded in Dan. 12:2. These words refer to the faithful and the apostates of the Maccabean revolt (cf. 11:32 ff.). The resurrection is to be a resurrection of wicked as well as of righteous Israelites, who, in the body, are presented before God for judgment.

Turning to the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, first to such as is of Palestinian origin, we discover that the idea of the resurrection formed a very vital part of the thought of later Judaism. The conception bulks larger and is more fully developed than in the Old Testament, being bound up with the entire system of eschatology. Statements concerning the character of the resurrection are often explicit and sometimes satisfactorily discussed. The most significant as well as the earliest of these writings was the Book of Enoch (Ethiopic). Through it the resurrection became commonplace in Jewish theology; and with the early Fathers it had all the weight of a canonical book, being sometimes cited as Scripture. There are at least two, if not four parts in the Ethiopic Enoch. The so-called "Similitudes" (chaps.37–71), being entirely different from the rest of the book, are commonly assigned to a subsequent author. The resurrection is thus very variously conceived in consequence of these different historical layers; and the naïve as well as the symbolic way of presentation makes interpretation extremely difficult.

In the first part of Enoch the resurrection is conceived to be of all Israel save one class of sinners (chap. 22); while in a later section the resurrection of the righteous alone is attested (90:33). The well-known "Similitudes" give testimony to a resurrection, either of all mankind or of Israelites only.[1] As to the resurrection act itself and the nature of the resurrection body there, too, are naturally marked variations. In the oldest section of the book the righteous are raised from Sheol in the body, to enjoy a life of material prosperity. The messianic kingdom is to be established on a purified earth with Jerusalem as its center (25:5); where its members are to eat of the tree of life (25:46), and where nature is to be prolific (10:19). The resurrection body of the righteous is thought of as having the same organs and functions which a mundane body possesses (cf. 25:46; 10:17), being virtually a restoration of the former body. The resurrection of the wicked is, however, differently conceived. The one class remain in Sheol forever; while the members of the other class are simply transferred on the great day of judgment from Sheol to everlasting punishment in Gehenna

[1] See Schodde, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 139, for the one view; R. H. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 139, for the other view.

(27:2). Whether the writer thought of the resurrection of the wicked as that of disembodied spirits (22:10,11), or spirits united with bodies so that they could be slain (22:13) and visible to the risen righteous (27:3), we are unable to surmise. Quite another conception of the resurrection is presented in the closing chapters of this Ethiopic Enoch. The center of interest is shifted from the material world to the spiritual, and the messianic kingdom being of short duration is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Heaven is the goal to which the spirits ascend after the final judgment (93:4). "The righteous dead will be raised (91:10; 92:3) as spirits only (103:3,4) and the portals of the new heaven will be open to them (104:2) and they shall joy as the angels (94:4) and become companions of the heavenly hosts (94:6) and shine as the stars (94:2)."[1] The idea of the resurrection in this section does not involve the body, but only the spirit. In the "Similitudes," however, the resurrection assumes a firmer form and acquires more universal value. "In those days the earth also gives back those who are treasured up within it and Sheol will give back that which it owes" (51:1–3). The nature of this resurrection body is such that the risen one can eat and sleep (62:14) in the messianic kingdom in which the righteous will live forever. The mention of "garments of glory and light" spoken of in connection with the resurrection body (even if this is the correct rendering of a variant text) does not revoke, as some are apt to think, the fleshly and materialistic conception of the body. There are thus in the Ethiopic Enoch two ideas concerning the character of the resurrection: (1) the resurrection of a material fleshly body; (2) the resurrection of the spirit only.

There is a very gross description of a bodily resurrection in Second Maccabees. This book surpasses all the earlier writings, not only in the prominence which it gives to the belief in a resurrection, but also in the enlarged form in which this belief is presented. The resurrection is set forth, not as a mere opinion, but as a motive and a support for martyrdom. The resurrection of the Israelites is to everlasting life (7:9), and their bodies are raised in exactly the same form in which they were committed to the earth. The writer holds the plainest and most literal conception of the resurrection of the body. God will restore the mutilated bodies (7:11; 14:46); and even blood relationships will continue (7:29). There is no belief in the doctrine of a natural resurrection. Resurrection comes through the miraculous exertion of divine power (7:14). The formation of a human being in the womb is paralleled by its re-formation after death and

[1] Quoted from R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

dissolution (7:22, 23). God's will and ability to do the former gives courage to believe that he will and can do the latter.[1]

Turning to the Book of Jubilees we meet again the doctrine of the resurrection of the spirit and the idea of simple immortality, already discerned in the Ethiopic Enoch. There is no mention of an intermediate abode, and surely it cannot be Sheol since that is conceived of as hell (24:3). The only statement with reference to the resurrection is in 23:31, in which it is asserted that the souls of the righteous enjoy a blessed immortality after death. Presumably the soul must enter at death into its final destiny. A resurrection of the spirit only, and not of the body, is also asserted in the Assumption of Moses (10:3–10). A most striking view of the resurrection is recorded in the Apocalypse of Baruch. This book is a composite work, contemporaneous with New Testament writers. Baruch is represented as asking God what the nature of the resurrection body will be (chap. 49); to which answer is made that the body will be restored in exactly the same form in which it was buried, with all the defects and deformities, so that there may be a common recognition after death (chap. 50). After such recognition the body of the righteous will be transformed and will assume a more spiritual nature. There will be a series of successive changes until the body is adjusted to the new environment (51:3). The body, however, will not be so attenuated as to become a nonentity; it will remain a body, even though it is spiritually apprehended. Thus in almost the same breath the Apocalypse of Baruch presents a material as well as a spiritual conception of the risen body.[2]

The nature of the resurrection is, therefore, variously conceived of in Palestinian-Jewish literature. Three conceptions were current: (1) a bodily resurrection in the material sense, clearly indicated (Eth. En.) and taught in the most literal terms (II Macc.; Apoc. Bar.); (2) a resurrection of the spirit only, or an incorporeal immortality after judgment (Eth. En.; Jub.; Ass. Mos.); (3) a resurrection of a transformed body, different from the mundane body (Apoc. Bar.).

A preliminary résumé of the Greek doctrine of the future life is a very important prerequisite to the interpretation and presentation of the idea of the resurrection in the ante-Nicene period. Early Christianity, as is

[1] In II Macc. *ἀνάστασις* occurs for the first time in the Greek Bible in the sense of resurrection.

[2] Though this book runs somewhat parallel to Paul (I Cor. 15:35–50), it cannot be declared that Paul was influenced by it, since the main part of the book and the section referred to were written after A. D. 70. Withal the position of Baruch is fundamentally different from that of Paul.

well known, was developed in the environment of Greek life and thought. There is thus an a-priori probability that in the formation of the doctrine of the resurrection Greek influences were operative. This influence must have been both conscious and unconscious, direct and indirect, positive and negative. At the time of the Christian era there were still current among the Greeks and the Romans the popular beliefs in the Homeric conceptions and the ancient mythologies. The sepulchral inscriptions give conclusive evidence of this fact. And since Homer was the bible of the Greeks, and since the philosophies were beyond the grasp of the people as a whole, it is evident that this must have been the case. Now the Homeric doctrine of the after-life is inharmonious and irreconcilable at many places. In the main, however, it presents us with a doctrine which seems similar to the ancient beliefs of the Hebrews. The Homeric poems teach that death is not the end of man, but that something survives. This something is not a full, real man, but a kind of "an attenuated edition of man." The part which survives death is called the soul (ψυχή), but it is entirely different from what we understand as soul. It has no psychological relation with the rest of man, even while it is in the body. At death it departs to Hades, where it continues without consciousness (*Il.* xxiii. 103, 104), and without a possibility of return (*Il.* xxiii. 75, 76). Immortality was vouchsafed only to a few favorites of the gods, who were bodily translated to the Elysian fields.

The philosophic view of the future life is, on the other hand, of greater moment and more pertinent than the popular thought. There are constant allusions in Christian writings to the philosophical views and besides, many of the early Christian writers were at one time philosophers and were trained in the philosophic systems. The moral philosophies were the religion of most of the cultivated people. The foremost of philosophers was Plato—decidedly so on the subject of the after-life. He established the doctrine of a future life on grounds of reason, independent of tradition. Still he had his predecessors who were controlled by a higher idea of the after-life than the Homeric conception. The Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries, Pythagoras, and Pindar contributed the idea that the soul which survives in the other world is soul itself, and no attenuated dead image; that the transmigration of souls is necessary; and that the body is a hindrance to the soul.[1]

Plato teaches very distinctly the idea of the immortality of the soul, to which is attached the doctrine of pre-existence and the dogma of metempsychosis. The soul is incarnated, and after the death of the body a judgment

[1] τὸ σῶμα σῆμα in the Orphic mysteries; see Plato, *Cratylus*, 400.

awaits it in an intermediate state where penance and discipline and purification are possible. There it remains for a thousand years, after which it is again reincarnated; and so continuing to persist in successive bodies it is finally delivered from the body and departs into the realm of pure being. This goal is, however, reached only by those who have purified themselves by philosophy and have freed themselves from every taint of the body. The idea of a resurrection of the body is contrary to Platonic principles. The entire scheme is to get rid of the body and all of its functions, not to save it. "The soul is divine, immortal, intelligible, uniform, indissoluble, unchangeable," but "the body is mortal" (*Phaedo*, 80); the body is the source of endless trouble, and it hinders the soul from the acquisition of knowledge (66); purity is attained only by the separation of the soul from the body (67); the body is an impediment, a hindrance, and the prison of the soul; heaven is reached only in a bodiless condition, in which the soul is free from every taint of the body. The doctrine of immortality had reached its highest point in Plato, and all subsequent writers who dealt with the future life followed in his footsteps. There is one variation, however, and it is utilized by the Fathers, viz., the conception of the Stoics, who taught that the soul is corporeal and that it survives until the world's periodic conflagration. They taught that the entire universe is in a continuous flux, that periodically everything is reabsorbed into Deity, and that the soul subsists until the next reabsorption and conflagration.

Turning to the Romans we find that there is very little that is Roman which is not also Greek. There are only two writers who seriously deal with the after-life—Cicero and Virgil. Both of these are used in a few of the Latin Fathers. Cicero restates the Platonic doctrine, concluding that a soul will either have a happy future or will perish with the body (*Tusc. Disp. I*, 38). Virgil gives both the popular view and also his own view, the latter being a reflection of the Platonic ideas of an antagonism between body and soul (*Aeneid* vi, 725 ff.). Thus Graeco-Roman thought was confined to the immortality of the soul, and consistently so; and the resurrection of the body was logically excluded, inasmuch as flesh and matter were conceived of as morally weak.

In the Alexandrian Jewish literature, there is a repetition of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. In Alexandria, where the Jewish and Greek ideas were welded together, the conception of the after-life fell on the Greek rather than on the Jewish side. Nowhere is there an attestation of the resurrection of the body. In the Wisdom of Solomon the doctrine of an individual immortality beyond the grave is set forth

(2:23; 8:17; 15:3). The psychology of the author is dualistic. The soul of man is pre-existent, and the body is treated as a mere receptacle (8:20); the body is only an "earthly tabernacle" for the soul (9:15); the body falls to the dust and never rises. This idea is brought out still more clearly in Philo, the classic example of Jewish Alexandrian theology. A personal immortality is clearly recognized; while a resurrection of the body and a judgment and an intermediate abode find no place. At death the soul enters into its final state, which at once sets aside the idea of a resurrection. His conception of matter, likewise, repudiates any conception of a bodily resurrection. Thus it is stated that the body is made out of matter and matter is incurably evil; that life in the body is death and death real life; that the body is the "utterly polluted prison" of the soul (*De Migr. Abr.*, II); that it is the corpse which the soul drags with it, the clog which hinders the spirit. The writer of Fourth Maccabees, "a dilettante in philosophics," believing only in a blessed immortality of the soul, thrusts aside any intimation of a resurrection of the body (13:16; 15:2; 18:23). This is the more remarkable since the discourse is founded on II Macc., which takes a very literal view of the resurrection. The Slavonic Enoch, or the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, standing in a class by itself, uses a collocation of words which do not lend themselves to definite interpretation (22:8–10).

Thus Hellenistic Judaism consistently held to a conception of mere personal immortality, and is a good illustration of the positive effect of Greek thought on the Jewish idea of the resurrection. This conception was confined almost exclusively to Alexandria, while the conception of the rehabilitation of the body was indigenous to Palestinian soil. This latter—the restoration of the former body—had gained wide currency and was a common property of the Pharisees and the common people, as is evident from Josephus, the New Testament, and the Talmud. Indeed, it was the atmosphere in which the Christian idea of the resurrection was born.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW TESTAMENT

In entering upon a study of the New Testament we are mainly interested to know whether there is a single view of the nature of the resurrection or whether testimony is given to two or even three conceptions. Inasmuch as we found through a genetic study of the literature of Judaism that there were current, at least, three possible conceptions of the nature of the resurrection, it is meet to inquire whether there is variation of idea in the New Testament books also, or uniformity. A careful study of Jesus, of Paul, and of the writers of the four gospels furnishes us with the desired information. In general, Jesus says very little—less perhaps than we should have expected—on the nature of the resurrection. However, the resurrection is affirmed in his reply to the cavil of the Sadducees, and the account is given by the three Synoptists (Mark 12:18–27 and parallels). That Mark contains the earlier tradition is evident, not merely from the general conclusion to which scholarship has come on the Synoptic problem as a whole, but also from the abrupt and uncouth form in which this Markan narrative is cast. The Sadducees present what was seemingly an imaginary case, and no doubt one of their standing questions—of the effect of levirate marriage on the after-life. To this question Jesus makes answer; and in his answer there are three aspects which bear, either directly or indirectly, on the subject.

The purport of the question of the Sadducees and the import of Jesus' answer give an implicit testimony. Jesus does not answer the question put to him, but deals with the presumption out of which the question sprang. Was that presumption the denial of the resurrection of the body, or rather the denial of the persistence of life after death? If only the former, then the purpose of the argument of Jesus was simply to indicate to the Sadducees that there is a resurrection of the body in the material sense. If, however, the presumption of the question was a denial of a spiritual personality after death, rather than of a resurrection of the body, then the answer of Jesus has pertinency only if directed to this denial. Now a knowledge of the tenets of the Sadducees, apart from our immediate passage, reveals the fact that they denied not merely the resurrection of the body, but more fundamentally the soul's immortality. Josephus' representation is undoubtedly correct when he says that they maintain that the soul perishes with the body

(*Ant.*, xviii. 1; *War*, ii. 8:14). This is also in harmony with Acts 23:8, in which it is asserted that they deny a world of supermundane spirits. And from the very history of the Sadducees one infers that they were wholly concerned with materialistic interests, so that spiritual realities had little meaning for them. From this standpoint it is therefore evident that Jesus must have set himself to the task primarily of showing the continuity of life, rather than of arguing the resurrection of a material body.

After all, Jesus seems to give some hint as to the nature of the resurrection in this passage when he says that in the resurrection "they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels in heaven." It is evident from this that the future life is not to be one of sense-life, in which men exist with the same forms of intercourse occasioned by man's sensuous nature. Jesus repudiates very strongly the idea of the earthly sensuous character of the future life. However, the exact nature of the future existence of men is not, by this expression, definitely indicated. In the analogy of the heavenly state of angels (εἰσὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς) there is something a little more tangible, but still nothing absolutely definite. Angels, like demons and spirits, are usually conceived of as immaterial beings, having a self-conscious, self-directing individuality. Jesus probably intended the simile to be taken at its full value. If so, he intended to give a distinctly spiritual meaning to the resurrection. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that this reply of Jesus tallies with the description in the latter part of Ethiopic Enoch, where there is to be a resurrection, but a resurrection of the spirit alone; in which the risen righteous are to rejoice "as the angels of heaven" (104:4), being companions of the "heavenly hosts" (104:6). Hence it is most probable that Jesus intended to deny the physical and affirm only the spiritual nature of the after-life.

The argument which Jesus draws from Scripture, in his answer, has reference only to a spiritual resumption of the activities of life after death (Mark 12:26, 27). Jesus shows conclusively that the view of the Sadducees is inconsistent with the very Scripture to which they hold. If God, he argues, is really the God of the patriarchs, then they are in fellowship with him, and that fellowship cannot be broken by death; it is continuous, and consequently life must be continuous. Commentators often have made the argument to hinge on the use of the present instead of the past tense in the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," thereby showing that the patriarchs who were buried centuries before Moses must still have been living when God spoke these words to him. But the argument for the survival of human personality strikes deeper, for it is inferred from the nature of God himself. Those who are morally

and religiously bound up with him *now* are in a life-giving and eternal fellowship with him; he who lives for God and with God lives forever. In this aspect of Jesus' answer to the Sadducees there is no support of the idea of a restitution of the body; but only of a survival of the spirit after death and of a blessed fellowship with God. The term "resurrection" has acquired, in the thought of Jesus, the content of immortality. No room is even left for an awakening of the soul from an intermediate abode and its transference therefrom to another place, where some kind of a body will be given to it. Jesus tacitly assumed that the resurrection begins with death and that the patriarchs were living the resurrection life fully and completely. There is no room for a point of time in the history of the after-life when a soul will be united with its former body and live a completer life.

The other teachings of Jesus are in perfect harmony with his answer to the Sadducees. In the Fourth Gospel, in a stratum coming probably from the hand of John himself,[1] is an expression which is in absolute harmony with the Synoptists. Jesus says to Mary who had the current conception of the resurrection, "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die" (John 11:25, 26): meaning thereby that he is the source and embodiment of the resurrection, and that he who gives himself up to him will survive after death. The argument is parallel to that of the Synoptics—the only change being a substitution of Jesus for God. In the Synoptics, Jesus says in substance, He who lives in God and for God lives forever; in the Gospel of John, he says, He who lives in me and for me lives forever. On the other hand, there are a few references, not directly to the resurrection, but to some phase of the after-life which seem to imply a bodily resurrection; but a critical study of each passage invariably leads to the foregone conclusion. Jesus spoke of eating and drinking in the future kingdom of God (Luke 13:29); but the terms are used figuratively "to express a blissful enjoyment in fellowship with others." Our Lord's words about Lazarus in Abraham's bosom and the rich man in Hades occur in a parable, and, being incidental rather than vital to the central purpose of the parable, cannot be charged with doctrinal meaning (Luke 16:19–31). The apocalyptic passages attributed to Jesus are colored by ideas which were current and operative during the period of gospel-making. The "Great Apocalypse" (Mark, chap. 13 and parallels) is of a composite character and presents conflicting views. It may safely be assumed that this apocalypse was not spoken by Christ in the form in which it appears in our present gospels; but that it is a Christian adaptation of an original

[1] See Wendt, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 153–58.

Jewish work written during the trouble preceding the fall of Jerusalem, or a report of Jesus' words colored by Jewish ideas.[1] Furthermore, what Jesus taught concerning the future state of men, he also predicted concerning himself. To rise again after three days was a Hebraistic way of saying in a short time (cf. Hos. 6:2); and by this expression Jesus simply conveyed the idea that immediately after his death he would continue to live as a self-directing personality. In short, Jesus read into the Jewish resurrection —a term which was forced upon his lips—nothing more than the survival and continuance of human personality on its spiritual side.

In turning from the teachings of Jesus to the writings of Paul, we are confronted with another conception of the resurrection, which is seemingly different—though not vitally so—from that of Jesus. Few conceptions received such elaborate treatment at the hands of Paul as that of the resurrection. His whole interest in eschatology is centered in the resurrection. Yet in spite of all this elaboration and emphasis, there is perhaps no province in which more room is left for the raising of perplexing questions. The two classic passages on the subject of the resurrection are I Cor., chap. 15 and II Cor., chap. 5; in the former of these the subject is systematically discussed. In Corinth the resurrection was questioned and denied by some Christians. The opposition to the idea was undoubtedly due to a Hellenistic dualism indigenous to Corinth itself. The portrayal in Acts of the opposition to the resurrection encountered at Athens is also in a measure applicable to Corinth. The Corinthians must have misconceived the nature of the resurrection body, and presumably overemphasized the materialistic conception, which caused certain ones to deny it altogether.

The resurrection of Jesus, in the thought of Paul, was significant in its relation both to justification and to the resurrection of believers. For him the resurrection of Jesus was the miracle *par excellence*, and the proof of his divine mission. If Christ, he says, is not raised then all faith is in vain and we are still in our sins; Christ was raised for our justification (I Cor. 15:16–18). The resurrection of Jesus is also a sure pledge of our own resurrection; and the hope of our resurrection rests on the assured fact of Christ's resurrection. The apostle draws a close analogy between the resurrection of Jesus and that of men. The resurrection of both is either affirmed or denied, so that what is true of the one must also be true of the other. If men do not rise then Christ did not rise, and vice versa. There is also no difference between the resurrection bodies of either, save that Jesus is the first-fruit. Inasmuch as the first-fruit is like the harvest, it

[1] This view has the support of such authorities as Weizsäcker, Wendt, H. J. Holtzmann, Baldensperger, Bousset, Charles, and others.

thus follows that whatever Paul conceived to be the nature of the resurrection of the one, he must also have held with reference to the other.

The nature of the resurrection body of Jesus is not explicitly described, nevertheless its nature can easily be inferred. The empty tomb was to Paul a secondary matter and of second-hand information, if, indeed, he knew of it at all. Christ had appeared to him in his risen form and that appearance gave him the conception which he expressed in the phrase a "spiritual body." In the catalogue of appearances (I Cor. 15:1–15) there is nothing to give one the impression that the resurrection of Jesus was a revivification of his former body; but an opposite impression is rather formed. Paul says nothing of a body which could be touched and handled, and which bore the marks of a crucifixion. He is silent with reference to all this, not because he does not like to think about it, but because he never saw anything of the kind. The risen Jesus which he saw was not clothed in his former earthly body. And, in addition, Paul's language describing the resurrection of Jesus does not contain the phrase "resurrection of the body," but the expression "resurrection of the dead," meaning thereby a resurrection from the under-world.

Paul's conception of the resurrection body is brought out more comprehensively, however, in his general treatment of the future resurrection of men. We are interested to know what he thought was both the nature and the origin of this resurrection body. The two ideas are inseparable and not systematically stated, and accordingly there has been room for various and conflicting opinions. In the first place, it is obvious that he teaches that the resurrection body is to be different from this present earthly body. The material substance of the mundane life can have no place in the life beyond the grave. It is distinctly stated that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (I Cor. 15:50). The word "flesh" is not used in an ethical sense; but, in connection with the word "blood," refers to an animal body (cf. also I Cor. 15:39). As we are we cannot inherit eternal life; since it is not the material properties of our body which endure forever; for they are subject to corruption and dissolution. In contrast with the present body the resurrection body is "spiritual," "heavenly," "eternal," and "not made with hands." The apostle recognizes variations and different forms of bodily life. "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another of birds, and another of fishes" (I Cor. 15:39). Then he continues by asserting that similar variations run through the heavenly bodies. In addition those living at the Parousia will meet the Lord, not with their earthly bodies, but with bodies that have been changed (I Thess. 4:17; I Cor. 15:51–54; II Cor. 5:4).

Paul's characteristic way of defining the future state is by the term "spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν); and this is original with him. Consequently in finding the meaning of the expression, no appeal can be made to classical or pre-Pauline literature, but reliance must be placed solely on Paul himself. On the surface, the expression seems self-contradictory; which may be due to the fact that in the term are crystallized two distinct ideas. It seems evident that the expression "spiritual body" has reference to an organism controlled by the Spirit or spirit—the two ideas being interchangeable—and also that the organism thus controlled is other than pure spirit. In contrast with the psychical body which is animated by the sensuous and perishable life as its determining element, the spiritual body will be animated by the supersensuous and imperishable life which the Spirit imparts and sustains.

This spiritual or resurrection body, he asserts, does not develop out of the former mundane body, save perhaps in the case of those still living at the Parousia (cf. I Cor. 15:51–54; II Cor. 5:4). The analogy of the seed and the plant is purely analogical, and must not be unduly pressed. As a scientific fact seed and plant stand in a genetic relationship. The seed—for in it is the germ of life—when placed in its proper environment produces the plant. But Paul did not use this illustration to set forth a principle of spiritual biology. He simply reflects the Hebrew idea respecting the sovereign power of God. "God giveth it a body according as he willeth" (καθὼς ἠθέλησεν). "The aorist tense denotes the final act of God's will determining the constitution of nature." All changes in history and life, according to the Hebrews, were the direct work of God, apart from secondary causes. No theory as to the origin of the new body can be found in this analogy. Paul did not teach that there is a seed in the old body, or the old body is itself the seed, out of which the new body genetically grows and develops; neither did he teach the metamorphosis of an earthly body into a heavenly.

The real origin of the resurrection body is attributed to the direct act of God, who "willeth" to give each soul a body at the time of the Parousia. In II Cor. 5:1–11 it is clearly indicated that when death ensues the souls will be left "naked," that is, bodiless; but that proleptically they already possess a body in heaven—"a house not made with hands"—with which they will be "clothed upon" on the resurrection day.[1] While the origin of the resurrection body is usually referred to the fiat of God, it is also

[1] There are some scholars (e. g., Reuss, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, Cone, Clemen, Schmiedel, etc.) who interpret this passage quite differently, asserting that, in the interval between I and II Cor., Paul changed his view on the resurrection.

sometimes spoken of as the work of the Spirit which dwells in the believer which Spirit gathers to itself such elements that it will finally form a new organism. In other words, the new life in the believer will have the power to create and assimilate an organism conforming to the new conditions. It seems that when Paul is controlled by the ethical, rather than the eschatological, side he prefers to speak of the genesis of the spiritual body in this way (cf. also Rom. 8:11).[1]

Since this spiritual body, as we have seen, is neither this present mundane form, nor a metamorphosis or volatilization of it, but a new organism imparted either indirectly by the new life working in the believer, or directly by God, it yet remains to ask what exactly is the nature of this organism. It is, after all, a body, an organism, and not equivalent merely to a spirit. It is perfectly adapted to the spirit's activity under the new conditions. It is ethereal, subtle, sublimated, having, probably, some of the properties of what we call matter. We may not have a term in our scientific nomenclature of things material and things spiritual whereby we can designate in exact terms the nature of this resurrection body which Paul chooses to call a "spiritual body."

Does Paul's conception differ from that of Jesus? It does, no doubt, in appearance and at first sight, but not in reality. There is really no vital difference between the two conceptions. Jesus said nothing of a spiritual body which is to be given at some time to the soul, or which the new life creates for itself; although this may not be altogether excluded from his thought. Both, however, agree in this, that they put the emphasis on the continuity of life on its spiritual side. Resurrection to both meant, not the rehabilitation of the flesh, but the permanent release from it.

In turning to the Gospel writers we meet another idea of the resurrection. In general, they portray a resurrection of the body in which the former substance is reanimated and the former life lived. This seems to be the prevailing conception of the risen body of Jesus as they describe it, although it is by no means consistently held. In fact, some resurrection narratives, particularly those imbedded in the earliest strata, imply a spiritual body such as Paul has described; while others, especially those appearing in the later gospels, set forth in bold relief a material conception of the risen body; and, indeed, in some of the accounts the material and the spiritual conceptions overlap.

Thus in the lost conclusion of Mark[2]—preserved in Matt. 28:8–10,

[1] Kennedy, Charles, and others interpret also I Cor. 15:42–49 in accordance with this view.

[2] For a discussion of this, see E. J. Goodspeed, "The Lost Conclusion of Mark," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IX, pp. 484–90 (1905).

16–19—there is described a resurrection appearance of a body which is purely spiritual. The disciples, it is narrated, were gathered together on a mount, and all at once Jesus appeared and spoke to them. Like Paul's, this description of the risen Christ is characterized by an absence of the grotesque and the materialistic conceptions of eating and handling. On the other hand, an unmistakable bodily presence of Jesus is manifested in the later traditions, especially that which has been preserved in Luke and John. Here the risen Jesus is represented as sitting down to meat, taking bread and blessing it, and giving it to his disciples. It is even stated that he took a piece of broiled fish and ate it in their presence (Luke 24:42, 43). The material and fleshly conception of the risen Lord comes out still more strikingly in the fact that he showed the prints in his hands and feet, and that he bade his disciples handle and touch him (Luke 24:39, 40; John 20:27). The risen Jesus, to indicate that his appearance was in his former body, is represented as saying: "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having" (Luke 24:39). In some of the narratives even a third phenomenon presents itself. Here Jesus instantaneously transports himself from place to place, passes through closed doors, is impalpable, and yet, withal, displays his wounds and challenges those present to touch him (John 20:19–23, 26–29). Two ill-according elements are manifestly present—the one predicating a material organism, the other a spiritual. Such incongruity is undoubtedly the result of two traditions, or two conceptions of the risen body, which were not, and, in fact, could not be, reconciled. Hence the overlapping of the two ideas—the one represented in its purity by Paul, and the other seen in its final development in the extra-canonical gospels. The appendix to the Gospel of John portrays with a great deal more consistency a material body than the rest of the gospel. Jesus is described as building a fire, preparing a meal, and sitting down to eat with his disciples (John 21:1–14).

In the narrative of the empty sepulcher the conception of a reinstatement, if not a resuscitation, of the former body is obvious. The tomb is found empty on the morning of the third day, the stone is rolled away, and an angel or angels announce that Christ is no longer in the grave but risen. Inharmonious as it is, even Mark and Matthew, who suggest only a spiritual body in the appearances, record the tradition of the open grave. There is a consistency between an empty tomb and a realistic corporeal risen body, but an inconsistency between an empty tomb and a spiritual body. In Luke and John the realism is brought out still more vividly, in the fact that the tomb is entered and that the linen clothes in which Jesus was wrapped are seen. Therefore, even though the gospels give traces of the

two ideas, of a spiritual and a material resurrection of Jesus, nevertheless the latter remains the predominant and prevailing type, especially so in John and Luke.

The remaining New Testament books make no contribution to the nature of the resurrection thus far discussed. With the exception of the Johannine writings and the Epistle to the Hebrews, a resurrection of the body is explicitly avowed or tacitly assumed. In the Johannine writings there seems to be an attestation of a spiritual as well as a mechanical and bodily conception; while in Hebrews it is uncertain whether the resurrection is a resurrection of the spirit or a resurrection of the body.

The extra-canonical gospels, which exerted a direct and indirect influence upon the Fathers, adhere consistently to a resuscitation of a mundane body. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews the account of the empty tomb and the post-resurrection life of Jesus is set forth more vividly and realistically than it was in any of the canonical gospels. The same holds true of the Gospel of Peter; only here the body of Jesus assumes some kind of a transcendental form, reaching from earth to heaven, and even beyond heaven.

There is thus in the New Testament literature a confirmation of two sharply defined conceptions of the nature of the resurrection body: (1) the one is a bodily resurrection in the material sense, most clearly attested in the resurrection narratives of Luke and John; (2) the other is a purely spiritual resurrection, and a permanent release from the flesh, clearly attested by Jesus and Paul. In a further analysis of the latter conception of a purely spiritual resurrection two ideas are also distinguishable: (*a*) the one is a resurrection of the "naked" soul, which will be clothed upon with a heavenly body, taught by Paul; (*b*) the other is the continued life of the soul beyond the grave without the addition of a heavenly body at some period in the after-life, taught by Jesus.

CHAPTER III

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Having described the various Jewish and New Testament ideas of the resurrection, let us now turn to trace the development of thought in the ante-Nicene Christian literature. Here we are interested to know how the resurrection was approached; how Scripture was interpreted and used; and what arguments were employed in substantiation of the ideas that were held. Then we also wish to know what place the resurrection held in each particular writer and what purpose it served—whether it was a fundamental or a secondary consideration, and whether it was purely theological and apologetic. But especially do we desire to know what the precise character of the resurrection in each case was—whether the term "resurrection" was equivalent to personal immortality; whether there was a risen body, and if so, whether it was the former body, or a different body; and again, whether a writer held to one idea consistently, or whether two or even more ideas were sometimes overlaid or welded together.

Clement[1] of Rome stands out as the first among the apostolic Fathers. His epistle to the Corinthians is the only Christian monument of the first century not included in the New Testament canon. His discussion of the resurrection is very singular, and yet also very simple (chaps. 24–27). He affirms that God will effect a resurrection in the case of man as he has done in the case of Jesus. God has given an assurance of the resurrection from the very works of nature. Day comes forth from the grave of the night, and out of the decayed seed comes forth the plant and the fruit. But the unique analogy is that of the phoenix. This bird is the only one of its kind and lives for five hundred years, after which it enters into a coffin, which it has built, and dies; and "as the flesh rotteth, a certain worm is engendered which is nurtured from the moisture of the dead creature, and putteth forth wings;" and so the new creature completes a cycle of another five hundred years. But in addition to this marvelous sign of a resurrection, there is also the testimony from Scripture, in which God has given us the promise of a resurrection (Ps. 3:6; 23:4; Job 19:26).

It is evident that the characteristic argument of Clement for the resurrection is the argument from analogy. For this he is undoubtedly indebted in part to Paul; for he uses both the illustration of the seed (24:4, 5), and the

[1] No effort is made to be *strictly* chronological; similar ideas and influences have been often grouped together.

expression the "first-fruit." To this he adds two original analogies: one in reference to day and night, the other in reference to the phoenix. This bird had been mentioned in literature before, but Clement is the first Christian who both uses the story and applies it to the resurrection. The second argument is the argument from the Old Testament. He finds the promise of the resurrection in two passages in the Old Testament, which, as a matter of fact—correctly interpreted—do not, in the least, refer to a resurrection. It is also important to observe the constant stress which the writer lays on divine providence and power through which alone the resurrection can be accomplished (cf. 24:1,5; 26:1; 27:1–3). At the same time he teaches that there is a resurrection of those only "who have served him with holiness in the assurance of a good faith."

What now is the precise nature of the resurrection body as conceived by Clement? Since he makes use of the fifteenth chapter of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, it might naturally be inferred that he conceived the risen body to be a spiritual one; but in spite of Pauline allusions and expressions, he seems to have misunderstood Paul entirely. A resurrection of the material body is consistently maintained throughout Clement's epistle. The analogy of the seed may not be conclusive evidence, but it is interesting to note that the purpose of the analogy is different from Paul's. In Paul's epistle the illustration of the seed is primarily used to show the sovereign power of God; and it is distinctly said that the body that is raised is not that which is buried, nor of the same kind; while in Clement's the main purpose of the illustration is to show that out of the decay of the seed comes forth the plant and the fruit. This is also more evident in the representation of the symbol of the phoenix, wherein the new creature arises out of the decaying and dissolving body of the old creature; and singularly enough, the new body is exactly like the old—with flesh and blood. In a passage from Job, he states more clearly still his position with reference to the character of the resurrection. As quoted by Clement it reads, "And thou shalt raise this my flesh which hath endured all these things."[1] Here he seems to imply an actual restoration of the flesh in the after-life. It is not simply "the flesh" of which he speaks but "this my flesh." More significant still, the word "flesh" does not, in this passage, occur in the Septuagint;[2] and it is probable that the change is due to Clement himself. The resurrection is thus a resurrection of the flesh—a material organism—and not a resurrection in the Pauline sense.

[1] Clemens Romanus 26:3, quoted, in the main, from Job 19:26: *Καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην τὴν ἀνταλήσασαν ταῦτα πάντα.*

[2] A reads *σῶμα*, but ℵ and B read *δέρμα*.

Similarly the resurrection of Jesus is suggested as having also been in the physical form. Clement refers to the fact that the apostles became fully assured of the resurrection of Jesus (42:3), but says nothing, in this connection, of the nature of that resurrection. However, when Christ is called the "first-fruit" of the resurrection the implication demands that his must have been like that of the harvest; that is, like the resurrection of men, whose resurrection is described.

Ignatius[1] constantly refers to the resurrection without exhaustively treating the subject in any particular passage. His epistle to the Smyrneans, however, presents the most material and the most interesting matter. But the idea of the resurrection bulks larger in his thought than the space which he gives to it would indicate. It was with him as with Paul the all-important fact in the life of Jesus. Ignatius, as distinguished from Clement who dealt only with the resurrection of men, deals with the resurrection of Jesus almost exclusively. The importance attached to the resurrection is indicated in Smyr. 1:2, where he asserts that the purpose of the crucifixion was to bring about the resurrection, so that God might raise up an ensign to gather in all the nations.[2]

The appeal of Ignatius, in the setting forth of the resurrection, is to a historical fact, and to the consequences and inconsistencies which follow if that fact is denied. The fact, of course, which he has in mind is the resurrection of the actual flesh of Jesus. It must be borne in mind also that his whole purpose in dealing with the resurrection is to repudiate Docetism, which denied the reality of the flesh. The Docetists did not deny a spiritual resurrection, but a corporeal resurrection. The watchword against Docetism was "truly" (ἀληθῶς), which is used with reference to the resurrection in Tral. 9:2, Magn. chap. 11, Smyr. chap. 2. To the same category belong those stereotyped phrases describing Christ's career —the birth, the passion, the resurrection—which later found their way into the Apostles' Creed. He who denies the reality and resurrection of the flesh of Christ forfeits his own immortality (Smyr. 5:2), is unreal and visionary (Smyr. 2), and makes the Eucharist ineffective (Smyr. 6:2). Indeed, Ignatius is the first writer indicating a relation between the resurrection of Christ's flesh and the Eucharist.

[1] Interpreted from the shorter Greek form. The longer Greek form is a later expansion. For a characteristic treatment of the resurrection in this later form, see Tral. 9.

[2] ἄρῃ σύσσημον. Cf. Isa. 49:22; 62:10, where LXX reads αἴρειν σύσσημον to describe the raising of Jehovah's standard in Jerusalem, about which men should rally from all parts of the earth.

The precise character of this risen body and the source which influenced Ignatius is set forth in Smyr. chap. 3; "For I know and believe that he was [is] in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when he came to Peter and his company, he said to them, Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without body [incorporeal spirit]. And straightway they touched him and they believed, being joined unto his flesh and his blood. . . . . And after his resurrection he ate with them and drank with them as one in the flesh, though spiritually he was united with the Father.' [1] Ignatius teaches, through the use of the present participle (ὄντα), that Jesus while in heaven is in the flesh, even at the time of his writing; he knows and believes this. Incarnation he held continued to persist, not merely after the resurrection, but also after the ascension. This implies that the pre-ascension and the post-ascension body of the risen Christ were the same. The evangelists give the reader the general impression that the risen body of Christ assumed a spiritual form at the ascension. This, as we have seen in the former chapter, is undoubtedly due to incongruous elements in the narrative: the one a tradition which predicates a spiritual body, the other a belief in a material body. But in Ignatius only one idea is held, and that consistently. The account of the post-resurrection experience in Smyr. 3 plainly conveys a reference to the incident in Luke 24:36 ff. The words, however, by which it is described are so decidedly different that another source is suggested which doubtless is the Gospel according to the Hebrews.[2] The emphasis is vigorously laid on a fleshly resurrection. Incorporeal spirit (δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον), in spite of Origen's interpretation as referring to some subtle substance, is taken by Ignatius to refer to a gross material organism. In Luke 36:40 the wounds are not touched, but in Smyr. chap. 3, they are touched, and the strongest possible expression is chosen to express the closeness of contact (κραθέντες). That which is touched is flesh and blood, i. e., the corporeal part of man. Jesus is also represented as eating and drinking with his disciples as one in the flesh (ὡς σαρκικός). The drinking is a new feature, and may have been inserted to give added force to what might be characterized as a resuscitated body.

[1] Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. . . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικὸς, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρί.

[2] Eusebius (*H. E.* III. 36:11) confesses that he does not know from what source this incident was taken; Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 16), states that it was taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; Origen (*De Prin.*, Preface 8) quotes it as taken from the Πέτρου κήρυγμα.

Ignatius also uses the expression "he raised himself" (Smyr. chap. 2), which is a decided advance upon New Testament doctrine. In the New Testament, Christ is always said to be raised by the Father, but in this epistle he is conceived of as rising by his self-power and will. However, this idea is not consistently held;[1] for in the same epistle the doctrine is stated in the scriptural way (Smyr. 7:1; cf. Tral. 9:2). Again, as is the resurrection of Jesus so is also the resurrection of men (Tral. 9:2). It is an honorable thing to keep the flesh holy, since it belongs to the Lord (Poly. 5:2); and if it is the Lord's, then it will not be destroyed but will rise again.

The characteristic features of Ignatius' thought about the resurrection are: (1) the constant insistence on a resurrection of the flesh in a gross material form, even to the extent of asserting that Jesus is still in the flesh after the ascension, and that he had been actually touched; (2) the validity of the Eucharist if the resurrection of the flesh is true, but its invalidity if the resurrection is merely spiritual; (3) the doctrine that Jesus raised himself; (4) a strenuous opposition to Docetism with reference to the idea of the flesh and the resurrection; (5) the dependence on the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, makes not a few allusions to New Testament passages bearing on the subject of the resurrection. Scripture is used and quoted in a formal way, and those familiar passages on the resurrection, in Acts and the epistles, are not woven into the texture of his thought; nevertheless, the New Testament and its truth are referred to as "the oracles of the Lord" (τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου, 7:1), in the words: "And whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lust and say there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan." The same Docetic teachers—who believe in the resurrection of the spirit, but not in that of the body—whom Ignatius attacked are here referred to. Hence the expressions in which Polycarp conveys his strong protest must have reference to the resurrection of some kind of a body, presumably a material organism.

In the document known as the Martyrdom of Polycarp the resurrection of the material body is maintained for martyrs, which is described as a "resurrection unto eternal life both of soul and body."

Barnabas furnishes us only with fragmentary references on the resurrection. In regard to Jesus he says that he rose, manifested himself, and ascended on the same day (15:9):[2] "Wherefore also we keep the eighth

[1] The change was felt by later readers and transcribers, so that an interpolater substituted ἀνέστη for ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν.

[2] The punctuation of Dressel puts the ascension on another day.

day for rejoicing in the which also Jesus arose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into heaven." The order of events and the ascension on the same day as the resurrection is in harmony with the Gospel of Peter, but there is no hint that this gospel was used or exerted any influence. Nothing is said bearing on the nature of the risen body. In 5:6 it is stated that "he himself endured that he might destroy death and show forth the resurrection of the dead, for that he must needs be manifested in the flesh." The manifestation of Jesus in the flesh has reference to his incarnation, and does not give us any clue to his conception of the nature of the resurrection body.

The Didache, Papias, and the Elders approach the resurrection more or less from the standpoint of messianism and the apocalyptic ideas. In all of them there is a very realistic and gross conception of the risen body, both of Jesus and of men, during a millennium reign. In the Didache resurrection, judgment, and the second coming are bound together in one act. The Lord will come in the clouds, the heavens will be rent, the trumpets will blow, and the dead saints will arise (16:6–8). The writings of Papias are no longer extant, and we must rely on fragments of his writings and scanty notices of his theological opinions in other writers. It is said by Jerome that he promulgated the Jewish tradition of a millennium, and by others that he thought that after the resurrection the Lord would reign in the flesh with the saints (*Vir. Ill.* 18). "Viands are among the sources of delight in the resurrection," and "the kingdom of heaven consists in the enjoyment of certain material foods." The righteous who are to share in this millennium enjoy a wealth of food of all kinds, which is described fully by Irenaeus in the famous passage that speaks of the prolific fruitfulness of the vine and the wheat (Iren. V. 33, 34). Whether Papias also held another idea of the resurrection—a resurrection of the spirit or a spiritual body—which would come at the end of this millennium, we have no data to know. In the *Testimony of the Elders*, preserved by Irenaeus, there is a gradation of rewards for the righteous, and, at least, two if not all three classes enjoy material rewards in the after-life (Iren. V. 36). Those who inhabit the city, the New Jerusalem on earth, will of course live an earthly life; those who enjoy the delights of Paradise will be bodily translated there; those who go to heaven might be supposed to assume another form, but this again is not the final goal and final resurrection; for it is asserted that those who are translated to Paradise merely remain there until the end of all things. As to the nature of the final resurrection which must logically conclude the millennium era we can give no definite answer.

In the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, or the earliest homily, the

resurrection is approached from a consideration of the nature and importance of the flesh. Although there is only one passage which directly deals with the resurrection, nevertheless the idea of the fleshly resurrection of men is set forth in more realistic terms than in any of the writers thus far examined. In 9:1–5 we read: "And let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged neither riseth again. Understand ye. In what were ye saved? In what did ye recover your sight? if ye were not in this flesh. We ought therefore to guard the flesh as a temple of God: for in like manner as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall come also in the flesh. If Christ the Lord who saved us, being first spirit, then became flesh, and so called us, in like manner also shall we in this flesh receive our reward."[1] This is an unmistakably clear statement, the argument of which was directed against those who denied a bodily resurrection, presumably an incipient Gnosticism (cf. 8, 14, 16). The body which rises has not merely the same kind of substance which the earthly body possesses, but it is the very identical substance (αὕτη ἡ σάρξ). There are two arguments set forth for this kind of a resurrection. A person shall be judged in the flesh and will receive recompense in the flesh in the same manner in which he was called. This idea of the resurrection of the flesh—for the purpose of judgment and rewards—is set forth in this ancient homily for the first time. The flesh is also a temple of God, and therefore must be guarded and kept pure. He calls it the holy flesh (ἡ σάρξ ἁγνή) (8:4). Here may be an allusion to Paul (I Cor. 6:14,19); but in the case of Paul the attention is directed to the fact that we carry in our bodies the Spirit of God, which, becoming a temple of God, should be kept pure and undefiled. In this homily, however, the reason for keeping the body pure is because it will rise again. Christ had put the emphasis on the inner life, stating that the life which is in God and for God is eternal. Clement II lays stress on the flesh and states that the flesh will have an eternal life provided it is kept pure. We shall rise in the flesh because of the singular fact that Christ was first spirit, and that when he came to save us he assumed flesh. These arguments became dominant later on; and in the passage quoted is expressed the underlying thought which was taken up by later writers and developed with great completeness.

The Shepherd of Hermas approaches the resurrection from the same standpoint, and it is not surprising that this should have been the case, since it came "*ex eadem communione ac societate*." In Sim. V. 7, 1 f., we read as follows: "Keep thy flesh pure and undefiled, that the spirit which dwelleth in it may bear witness to it and thy flesh may be justified. See that it never enter into thy heart that this flesh of thine is perishable

and so thou abuse it in some defilement. [For] if thou defile thy flesh, thou shalt defile the Holy Spirit also, but if thou defile the spirit, thou shalt not live."[1] Flesh is not perishable, and its survival after death is a basis for morality. Hermas also teaches that the flesh which survives the spirit unblamably shall have a place of sojourn, in order that it may not lose the reward of its service (Sim. V. 6, 7).

In the apostolic Fathers the idea of the resurrection, though meagerly treated, is nevertheless of great significance. With the exception of Barnabas and those treatises which deal with the millenium, there is a decided uniformity as to what the nature of the resurrection body shall be. The Pauline conception, in spite of Pauline allusions and references, falls into disfavor; and a bodily resurrection in the material sense, with reference both to Jesus and to men, is either tacitly assumed or avowedly expressed. In the effort to oppose Docetism the reality of the flesh of Christ—both of his earthly career and, significantly, also of his heavenly state—is asserted. Dependence is shown, in at least one instance, upon an extra-canonical gospel; and some of the theological and apologetic arguments, so pronounced in subsequent writers, are set forth in an incipient form.

[1] This is according to the Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn text, which reads: *ἐὰν δὲ μιάνῃς τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐ ζήσῃ.* Lightfoot's text is still more suggestive for our purpose, reading *τὰ σάρκα*, instead of *τὸ πνεῦμα*.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOLOGISTS

In the early apologists the doctrine of the resurrection is more fully developed, and the ideas concerning it are more comprehensively stated, than they were in the apostolic Fathers. A few single treatises were written on the subject, and many original arguments were used. Justin Martyr being the foremost, if not the first, among the apologists, largely leads and pioneers the way. He deals with the resurrection both of Jesus and of men, both in the *Apologies* and in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. Speaking first of the resurrection of Jesus, it does not, in his thought, hold the same place as the second coming, the virgin birth, and the crucifixion: even though the significance attributed to it lies in the fact that it sets forth his glory and makes certain his second coming. Nevertheless, Justin makes reference to the story imbedded in Matt. 28:11–15; viz., that the disciples stole the body of Jesus and then declared his resurrection, and adds that the Jews proclaimed this "godless doctrine" throughout the world (*Dia.* 108). He also repeats the tradition of the evangelists in regard to the post-resurrection life of Jesus, and understands it in the same way in which it was portrayed by John and Luke. Jesus was buried at eventide and rose again on the third day (*Dia.* 97, 100)—"the third day" being here mentioned for the first time outside the gospels.[1] After the resurrection he lived with his disciples, assured them that his passion and death were foretold, and sang hymns with them (*Dia.* 106); in variation from the gospels, he asserts that when the disciples were convinced, by Jesus, of his resurrection, "they went into all the world, and taught these truths" (*Dia.* 53).

His idea of the resurrection of men can be approached best by presenting his whole conception of the after-life, since in his thinking the resurrection is knit up with his entire eschatology. There are two marked features in his eschatology: the one is the millennium, the other the resurrection; and the two are indissolubly bound together. Death he defines as the separation of the soul from the body. "Man does not live always, and the soul is not forever conjoined with the body, since, whenever this harmony must be broken up, the soul leaves the body, and man exists no longer" (*Dia.* 6). The soul neither perishes with the body nor suffers dissolution

[1] Cf. also Aristides, *Apol.* II, where the description runs thus: "He died, was buried, and *they say* that after three days he arose and ascended to heaven."

and yet, souls are not *naturally* immortal (*Dia.* 5). The soul, he states, is not life, but has life, which life may be extinguished; nevertheless it is God's will that souls should not die, but be kept intact. If death would be the end then it would be "a piece of unlooked-for luck" (ἔρμαιον) to all the wicked (*Apol.* I. 18). The soul at death does not directly go to heaven or hell, as the heretics teach (*Dia.* 80); but it enters an intermediate place, where all common mortals remain until the resurrection (*Dia.* 5). He repeatedly and emphatically states that these souls in Hades are still endowed with sensation (*Apol.* I. 20; *Dia.* 57). Greek life, literature, and mythology point to this fact (*Apol.* I. 18). However, this state of sensation in which the righteous experience joy and the unrighteous pain is not the end and goal of the future life.

Justin accepted the idea of the millennium, and inserted it bodily into his system of thought. This millennium kingdom is established at Christ's second coming, and is preceded by the resurrection of dead Christians, prophets, and pious Jews. It is known as the first or "holy resurrection" (ἅγια ἀνάστασις, *Dia.* 113), differentiated from the general or "eternal resurrection" (αἰώνια ἀνάστασις, *Dia.* 81). During this time the New Jerusalem will be built; and there will be physical enjoyments, in which Christ will eat and drink with the members of his kingdom. At the close of the thousand years of Christ's reign upon the earth the second act of the great drama of the resurrection is expected. This resurrection is intended for all men, without exception (*Dia.* 81), and is designed primarily for judgment; through which such recompense is made that the just ascend into heaven and the wicked descend into a hell of fire (*Apol.* II. 1, 2; *Dia.* 130). In form and nature the two acts of the resurrection do not differ from each other. The life after the second resurrection is simply a continuance of the life of the millennium. There is no indication that the resurrection of the one is that of the body, and the other that of the spirit; nor that the second resurrection is of a spiritual body, while the former was a material body. In fact, Justin nowhere desires his readers to form the impression that the resurrection body in the millennium state is different from that of the post-millennium state.

What then is the precise nature of this resurrection body? It is to be noted that the term "resurrection of the flesh" (σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις) comes to light here for the first time. The term "rising of the flesh" had been used before, but not "resurrection of the flesh." However, the expression occurs only once in Justin (*Dia.* 80). As a rule he prefers the biblical expression, "resurrection from the dead." But at no point is one left in doubt as to what kind of a resurrection is meant. The body rises with the

same form and substance, with the same component parts and members from the grave, as it possessed while alive. "We expect to receive again our own bodies, though they be dead and cast into the earth, for we maintain that with God nothing is impossible."[1] It is asserted, with reference to the wicked, that their bodies will unite again with their spirits, and undergo everlasting punishment (*Apol.* I. 8); and with reference to the righteous, that there will be a perfect identity between the deceased and risen body—the only difference being that mutilated bodies will rise with their limbs restored (*Apol.* I. 8). There will also be in the resurrection body a discontinuance of the sexual functions (based on Luke 20:29–34), and an exemption from pain (*Dia.* 69, 121). In *Apol.* I. 19, Justin tries to meet an objection which has been made, or which, at least, he feels might be made, viz., that it is impossible that the bodies of men which have been dissolved should rise again with the same form and substance. This he answers by referring to the miraculous power of life and growth issuing from a human seed. The analogy, however, of the human seed is not an analogy of the process of the resurrection, but is used only to indicate the power of God, and the credibility of a bodily resurrection. The resurrection seems incredible to one merely because he has never seen it, just as the growth of a man out of a human germ would seem incredible were it not a commonplace.

Justin bodily repeats and formally adheres to Christian tradition in his treatment of the resurrection, which he indissolubly binds up with the millennium. He himself states that the resurrection of the flesh and the thousand years' reign belong only to a certain class—those who are thoroughly orthodox (ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, *Dia.* 80). He makes no attempt to interpret either Jesus or Paul on the resurrection, but simply falls back on Jewish and Christian apocalypses and on Christian tradition for his ideas of the resurrection. Neither is he carried away by the Platonic conceptions of immortality. He thoroughly knows the position of Plato and states it (*Dia.* 1), but only to refute it. His theology is very much colored with the philosophic conceptions, especially with reference to God and the Logos; and yet, notwithstanding, he sets over against it the grossest and most materialistic conception of the after-life and the resurrection body, which, in fact, is in direct opposition to Hellenistic ideas, and which ill accords with his otherwise Platonic conceptions.

The treatise entitled "*On the Resurrection*,"[2] attributed to Justin, but

[1] *Apol.* I. 18. οἱ καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα καὶ εἰς γῆν βαλλόμενα πάλιν ἀπολήψεσθαι ἑαυτῶν σώματα προσδοκῶμεν, ἀδύνατον μηδὲν εἶναι θεῷ λέγοντες.

[2] περὶ ἀναστάσεως.

wrongly so, may be treated in this connection. At least, it belongs not far after Justin.[1] This pseudonymous writing is more Platonic and more ascetic than the authentic works of Justin. The entire treatise is devoted to an exposition of the resurrection, and is of the highest value for our purpose. It is the first attempt to set forth the resurrection of the flesh in an orderly manner. It is an apologetic against the heathen denial of the resurrection, and indirectly a polemic against Gnostic tenets. The arguments of the opponents are stated and then refuted one by one. In one passage attention is drawn to the fact that the argument is "secular and physical," not scriptural (5),[2] while the reason assigned for adopting this line of argument is to meet the opponents of the resurrection on their own ground; and, in fact, this is what the treatise mostly undertakes to do. The purpose as stated is twofold: first, to solve the things which seem insoluble to those who deny the resurrection of the flesh; and secondly, to demonstrate, in an orderly manner, that the flesh will partake of salvation (2).

The writer shows, in the first place, that the body will rise entire—with all its former members and organs, which, however, will not all perform the same functions as they performed in the earthly body. There are even cases in this life in which that is true; for he writes, "Let not, then, those that are unbelieving marvel, if in the world to come he do away with those acts of our fleshly members which even sometimes in this present life are abolished" (3). The resurrection body, however, will be perfect and entire without any bodily defects. One of the purposes for which Jesus performed miracles of healing was to induce the belief that in the resurrection the flesh shall rise entire. "For if on earth he healed the sicknesses of the flesh, and made the body whole, much more will he do this in the resurrection, so that the flesh shall rise perfect and entire" (4).

Furthermore, God is competent to raise this earthly body. The heathen believe that all things are possible to their gods, and if they believe so, Christians have much more reason to believe this with reference to their God. Besides, that the first man was created, that men are generated from a human seed, that cases of resurrection have actually happened—all these are proofs that God has the power to bring about a universal resurrection (5). The resurrection is also consistent with the opinion of the philosophers: with Plato, who says that all things are made from matter by God; with Epicurus, who asserts that all things are made from the atom and the void; and with the Stoics, who declare that all things are made out

[1] "Darf somit für sehr wahrscheinlich resp. für fast gewiss gelten, dass unsere Schrift bereits vór 180 existirte."—Harnack, *Gesch, Altchrist. Litt.* II, 1, p. 509.

[2] These references are to chaps. in pseudo-Justin, *De Resurrectione.*

of the four elements. "There are some doctrines acknowledged by them all in common, one of which is that neither can anything be produced from what is not in being, nor anything be destroyed or dissolved into what has not any being, and that the elements exist indestructible out of which all things are generated. And this being so, the regeneration of the flesh will, according to all these philosophies, appear to be possible" (6). The flesh in God's sight is also a precious possession, as is evident from its creation (7). It is not the flesh alone that sins, as is asserted by the opponents of the resurrection; but both body and soul sin together. And if it should really be true that flesh is sinful, then there is this undeniable fact that the Savior came to save flesh; so that in either case flesh must be valuable in God's sight, and being valuable, he must raise it (8).

In the concluding chapters, preserved only in fragments, the resurrection of the flesh is set forth in its clearest light. This resurrection is proved both from Christ's miracles of raising and his own resurrection. The former is manifested in the following passage:

> If he had no need of the flesh, why did he heal it? And what is most forcible of all, he raised the dead. Why? Was it not to show what the resurrection should be? How then did he raise the dead? Their souls or their bodies? Manifestly both. If the resurrection were only spiritual, it was requisite that he, in raising the dead, should show that body lying apart by itself, and the soul lying apart by itself. But now he did not do so, but raised the body, confirming in it the promise of life (9).

The latter, that is, the proof from Christ's own resurrection is described in the following words:

> Why did he rise in the flesh in which he suffered, unless to show the resurrection of the flesh? And wishing to confirm this, when his disciples did not know whether to believe he had truly risen in the body, and were looking upon him and doubting, he said to them, "Ye have not yet faith; see that it is I;" and he let them handle him, and showed them the prints of the nails in his hands. And when they were by every kind of proof persuaded that it was himself and in the body, they asked him to eat with them, that they might thus still more accurately ascertain that he had in verity risen bodily; and he did eat honey-comb and fish. And when he had thus shown them that there is truly a resurrection of the flesh, wishing to show them this also, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven (as he had said that our dwelling-place is in heaven), "he was taken up into heaven while they beheld," as he was in the flesh (9).

In this quotation the bodily resurrection of Jesus is portrayed with greater reality than in our canonical gospels. The description seems to accord in some respects with the Gospel according to the Hebrews; for

in that gospel, as in this treatise, it is stated that the disciples actually touched the risen Lord. The ascension in the flesh reminds us of Ignatius, on whom there may have been a tacit dependence. The concluding fragment states the resurrection of the flesh also very realistically.

> The resurrection is a resurrection of the flesh which died. For the spirit dies not; the soul is in the body, and without a soul it cannot live. The body, when the soul forsakes it, is not. For the body is the house of the soul; and the soul the house of the spirit. These three, in all those who cherish a sincere hope and unquestioning faith in God, will be saved.[1]

Herein it is explicitly stated that the resurrection is a resurrection, not merely of the flesh, but of the very "flesh which died."

In summing up the views set forth by pseudo-Justin, it may be noted: (1) that there is to be a real resurrection of the flesh, and accordingly various terms—the resurrection of the flesh, salvation of the flesh, regeneration of the flesh, promise of the flesh—are used to express this idea; (2) that the resurrection of Jesus was of a material body—a person capable of being touched, who ate and in the flesh ascended into heaven; (3) that the arguments, because they are determined, in method and content, by the opponents of the resurrection, are apologetic and theological rather than scriptural; (4) that in the use of the post-resurrection narratives of Jesus there is apparently felt the influence of an extra-canonical gospel —the Gospel according to the Hebrews; (5) that no use is made of the Pauline teaching on the resurrection, or of the teachings of Jesus, save to the effect that in the resurrection body certain functions are annulled.

Athenagoras wrote a treatise *On the Resurrection of the Dead*,[2] in which he sets forth the doctrine of the resurrection of the body in a still more logical scheme than pseudo-Justin. The opponents against which the treatise was directed are the heathen. Like pseudo-Justin, Athenagoras also divides his work into two parts: in the first, or negative part, he answers certain objections offered by those who oppose the doctrine of the resurrection; and in the second, or positive part, he instructs and confirms Christians in their belief in the doctrine. In the first part, he shows that the objectors have no reason to doubt that the bodies of men will be restored. He refutes both underlying objections, viz., that God is neither able nor willing to call the dead back to life. And if God, he continues, is unable to accom-

[1] *De Resurrectione* (10): Ἀνάστασίς ἐστι τοῦ πεπτωκότος σαρκίου· πνεῦνα γὰρ οὐ πίπτει. ψυχὴ ἐν σώματί ἐστιν, οὐ ζῇ δὲ ἄψυχον· σῶμα, ψυχῆς ἀπολειπούσης, οὐκ ἔστιν. οἶκος γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ψυχῆς, πνεύματος δὲ ψυχὴ οἶκος. τὰ τρία δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐλπίδα εἰλικρινῆ καὶ πίστιν ἀδιάκριτον ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἔχουσιν σωθήσεται.

[2] περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν.

plish the resurrection, then he must be deficient either in knowledge or in power. But either position is absurd; for God knows, yea, he must know, "both the members entire and the particles of which they consist, and whither each of the dissolved particles passes, and what part of the elements has received that which is dissolved." Neither can he be ignorant of the method by which bodies may be recalled to life (2).[1] Moreover, God's power is also sufficient for the raising of dead bodies. The God who created them must also be able to restore them; a fact which he maintains to hold true, whether we think of the first formation of bodies and their elements, or the formation through pro-generation. Even the parts of human bodies which are taken into animals can be separated and restored by God (3). Disbelievers object, saying that human elements, eaten and absorbed by animals or human beings, cannot be separated (4). To this he answers by saying that for each living thing God has provided suitable food, and that only what is suitable becomes a part of the body through the process of digestion, while whatever is unsuitable is rejected (5, 6). In chap. 7, a new line of argument is introduced, and the objections are met on a higher plane. The resurrection body will be somewhat different from the present, throwing aside its corruptibility, its needs, and its material functions and conditions (cf. *Apol.* 31). Hence no foreign element can become a necessary part of that true body which shall rise. The objectors to the resurrection draw a conclusion from potters and artificers, who are unable to renew their work when once destroyed; but Athenagoras points out that there is no basis for an objection in this analogy, since "what is impossible with man is possible with God" (9). That God does not wish to raise the dead—the second underlying objection—is likewise untenable. The resurrection of men is not an injustice to angels (*νοηταὶ φύσεις*); nor do inanimate or irrational beings, who do not share in the same resurrection, sustain any wrong; nor is injustice done to the man who is raised, "for he consists of soul and body and he suffers no wrong as to either soul or body;" "nor can one say that it is a work unworthy of God to raise up and bring together again a body which has been dissolved" (10).

In the second part of the discussion four arguments are adduced in support of the resurrection of men: (1) The final cause of man's creation. Man was not created for the sake of another being, but that he might be a perpetual beholder of divine wisdom. The creature who has in himself the image of his Creator partakes of an intelligent life, and, having become a spectator of God's grandeur and wisdom manifested in all things, con-

[1] All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to the above-mentioned work, *On the Resurrection of the Dead.*

tinues always in the contemplation of these; and for this purpose the resurrection of the body and the soul is established (12, 13). (2) Consideration of man's nature, who is the end of rational life, and who consequently must have a perpetual existence. Man is composed of an immortal soul, and a body fitted to it in creation. Both are active in life and there is one harmony and community of experience in this world. Hence the end of these two must be the same, and since there is one common end of the being thus compounded the resurrection is a necessary inference. If the entire nature of man does not continue, then everything is in vain—body and soul, understanding and insight, righteousness and virtue, everything joyous and beautiful (14–17). (3) The necessity of divine judgment, in body and soul, from the providence and justice of God. Deeds are wrought in union of body and soul, and it would be unjust to reward or punish only one. If there is no resurrection then there is no providence, and no reward of good or evil. It would be unjust to reward or punish the soul alone when the body was a partaker of good and bad deeds. Again, the virtues and vices of man cannot be thought of as existing in an unembodied soul. Even the ten commandments (especially four, six, and seven) are designed both for body and soul, and the soul alone is not to be held responsible (18–23). (4) The ultimate end of man's being, not to be attained on earth. Everything has its particular end and, in accordance with this principle, man also has his particular end. Freedom from pain cannot be the final goal for man, nor can it consist in the enjoyment of things which nourish or delight the body, nor in the abundance of pleasure, nor in the happiness of soul separated from body. Since then man's end cannot be attained on earth, it must be attained hereafter in a state where body and soul are again united (24, 25).

As to the nature of the resurrection body, Athenagoras bears testimony to a few distinguishable, if not distinct conceptions. There is, in the first place, the reiterating conception that, in the resurrection, the same souls are given to the same bodies, and that the bodies which have moulded away and have been dissolved and reduced to nothing will be reconstructed. "The resurrection of dissolved bodies"[1] is a very common expression. The resurrection body is to be exactly like the mundane body, absolutely identical with it in the material parts and particles which compose it. What has reverted to nature through the natural processes of dissolution will again be reinstated. No matter where the elements have gone, and into what they have been converted, they will, at the appointed time, be brought back by the power and will of God to their former place in the body (2–6).

[1] ἡ τῶν διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασις.

And it is frankly admitted that the elements which constitute the body can be assimilated into animals, but not into the tissues of human bodies; so that there can be no serious objection to the view that our present bodies can be restored in substance and form (6). On the other hand, the idea of a body, in the resurrection, different from the present one is repeatedly emphasized in clear and unmistakable terms. The resurrection body will throw aside its corruptibility and also bring about other changes; so that identity of material between the two bodies is unthinkable. It is stated that neither the blood contributes anything to life, i.e., the resurrection life; nor does the phlegm, nor the bile, nor the breath (7); that the constant change of the body proves, first, that it cannot be determined what the real body is, and, secondly, that the resurrection is simply one more link—the last—in a "hierarchy" of changes. There is a constant change in the flesh and the fat as well as the humors, in time of health and more often in time of sickness, a gradual change from a human seed to a living being, a continual change in age, appearance, and size, and finally, another change at the time of the resurrection process (7, 12, 17). "For the resurrection is a species of change and the last of all, and a change for the better of what still remains in existence at that time" (12). This change is so radically conceived that in one place the author even compares the risen body to a heavenly spirit (*Apol.* 31). That which rises, however, is not mere spirit, but body or flesh, so changed that the term "heavenly spirit" is used to describe it. It is flesh, not pure spirit; and yet it is not flesh, that is, it is changed and transformed flesh. Such must be the meaning of the following passage:

> We are persuaded that when we are removed from the present life we shall live another life, better than the present one, a heavenly, not earthly (since we shall abide near God, and with God, free from all changes and suffering in the soul, not as flesh, even though we shall have flesh, but as heavenly spirit), or falling with the rest, a worse one and in fire.[1]

Athenagoras presents a very interesting phenomenon. He sets forth, on the one hand, a resurrection of the body in the material sense—setting it forth so literally as to explain how the very dissolved particles will all be reinstated in the risen body; and, on the other hand, he depicts the nature of the resurrection body, in language and description which well-nigh

[1] *Apol.* 31: *πεπείσμεθα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀπαλλαγέντες βίου βίον ἕτερον βιώσεσθαι, ἀμείνονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐπουράνιον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον (ὡς ἂν μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ σὺν θεῷ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀπαθεῖς τὴν ψυχήν, οὐχ ὡς σάρκες, κἂν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐράνιον πνεῦμα, μενοῦμεν), ἢ συγκαταπίπτοντες τοῖς λοιποῖς χείρονα καὶ διὰ πυρός.*

approach the Pauline conception. We labor in vain to find a synthesis between these two conceptions. The only solution for this incongruity lies in his eclecticism. It has been said that he was the first of eclectics. In his theology there is an unmistakable trace of the Platonic and the Peripatetic combined with Christian elements; so that, with reference to the resurrection, we naturally expect to find divergent views. In fact, he holds to the idea of recollections, one of the Platonic arguments used in substantiation of the soul's immortality. His eclectic spirit caused him also to employ Pauline conceptions and ideas, which ill accord with the current and traditional conceptions of the resurrection. He knew Paul and alludes to the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians in several instances. Fundamentally, however, Athenagoras held to the resurrection of the flesh, which, because of his eclecticism, is often overlaid by other ideas of a resurrection.

Theophilus of Antioch makes a few references to the resurrection. He believes in the resurrection of the body, evidently in the material sense. He says nothing of the relation of the resurrection body to the mundane body. His interest is in the fact of the resurrection rather than in a discussion of its nature. The resurrection, he argues, is in no wise unreasonable, and those who do not believe in it now will nevertheless believe when the resurrection shall have taken place. Again, God is able to bring about a resurrection, evinced by the fact that if he first brought man into being out of nothing and since then every human being out of a small seed into life, he is also able to remake him in the resurrection (*Autol.* I. 8, 13). "And can you not believe that the God who made you is also able to make you afterwards." The real ground, however, for the resurrection is in two considerations: first, the testimony from analogy, and, secondly, the testimony from the Sacred Scripture (Old Testament). The unbelieving say, Show me one who has been raised from the dead, that seeing I may believe. To this Theophilus replies that the heathen believe in the continued life of Hercules and Esculapius, but if we should tell of such a case they would be incredulous. Then he continues to present his arguments from analogy in proof of the resurrection. He points to the different seasons, day and night, seeds and fruits: a seed of wheat, for example, or of the other grains, when it is cast into the earth first dies and rots away, then is raised and becomes a stalk of corn. The heavenly bodies, likewise, show forth a resurrection: there is the "resurrection of the moon," which "wanes and dies and rises again." Then there is a resurrection going on in man himself: it often happens that through sickness one loses his flesh and his strength, but through God's power he is again restored to his former state (I. 14). Finally, he lays still more stress upon prophetic

Scripture, in which all things were foretold and among them the resurrection of the body.

The resurrection of which Theophilus speaks is a general resurrection of all men. The nature and form of the resurrection body is not described, but it is tacitly assumed that it is a bodily resurrection in the material sense. At least, that is what the unbelievers to whom he wrote understood by it, since they asked for the restoration of a man that they might believe. The analogies seem to point in the same direction; so also the expression "raise thy flesh immortal with thy soul" (I. 7). The idea of the nature of the resurrection is taken from Christian tradition, with little reference to the New Testament. There are no traces of the Pauline doctrine—although the analogies may have been suggested by his analogy of the seed—and no references to the resurrection of Jesus.

The extant fragments of Melito, bishop of Sardis, furnish us with a few rhetorical phrases on the resurrection of Jesus expressing the current conception. The expression, "he rose from the dead," or, "the place of the dead," is very common. Thus it is said, "he arose from the dead and ascended to the heights of the heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father" (*On Passion*). References are also made to his resurrection, descent into Hades, his ascension, and session at the right hand, and to the relief of prisoners in Hades. "He arose from the place of the dead and raised up men from the earth—from the grave below—to the heights of heaven" (*On Faith*). Jesus rose in a bodily form; and his body did not even suffer dissolution (*On Passion*). Again, the collocation of words in regard to the post-resurrection life of Jesus are such as have always been associated with a fleshly resurrection. Melito does not draw his conception from any particular portion of Scripture, but adheres rather to Christian tradition. He also tries to show that the coming of Christ was necessary for our resurrection.

Tatian in his *Oration to the Greeks* imparts, more or less indirectly, unique conception of the resurrection. He approaches it altogether rom a philosophical, or rather a psychological point of view; and indeed his doctrine of the soul is anomalous. The resurrection doctrine is worked out from the existing relation of body, soul, and spirit, and the relation sustained by these three to God. Man, he says, consists of three parts flesh, soul, and spirit. The flesh is that which incloses the soul, is equivalent to body, and is the property of men, but not of God and demons (15). Spirit is of three grades; first, there is the spirit pervading matter, secondly, the spirit assimilated to the soul, and thirdly, the divine spirit apart from its works (4). There are in man thus two kinds of spirits, the

one which is common to all matter, and the divine spirit or the Holy Spirit. Another name for the natural spirit in man is soul, and soul is material, so that in the trichotomy of man soul is equivalent to natural spirit (πνεύματα ὑλικά). Natural spirits are material though not fleshly. Soul is nothing else but a label given to the material spirit in man. Demons are spoken of as material creatures (12). Their structure may be designated as spiritual, but, in reality, they are like fire and air, which are the reflections of matter (15). Hence the soul or material spirit is an ethereal substance like air or fire. But not all spirits are material, or rather not everything spiritual is material. God is a spirit, and he is immaterial; the soul is a spirit but material, since it is created. There is also a spirit superior to matter, greater than the soul (7), the representative of God, his image, his spirit (13, 15), which dwells or, at least, can dwell in man, which might be termed the Holy Spirit.

Out of this psychology of Tatian arose his conception of the resurrection. The argument in one place runs as follows: God is incorruptible, man partakes of God, therefore man is incorruptible (7). But, on the other hand, Tatian teaches more than simple personal immortality; and his argument is exceedingly complex at those points in which he suggests a resurrection of the body as well as the soul. Soul, or material spirit, is the bond connecting God's spirit, pure and undefiled, with the flesh. Now unless the soul or material spirit is in relationship with the immaterial spirit or Holy Spirit, the soul will pass into eternal dissolution, and the body or the flesh as well; since the soul is the bond between them. If, on the other hand, the soul or material spirit acquires the knowledge of God it dies not, although for a time it be dissolved (13). Again, he teaches that the soul, or material spirit is interwoven with the body or flesh and manifests itself through the body. "Neither could it [the soul] appear by itself without the body, nor does the flesh rise again without the soul" (15).

Tatian has no room for an intermediate place, and yet souls at death do not immediately pass to their final abode. Souls—remembering that they are material—as well as bodies are dissolved, but both will rise again. He speaks of a double death for the soul in the case of those who know not God. There is a resurrection of bodies after the consummation of all things, not a return of certain cycles as the Stoics teach, but a "resurrection once for all;" and the purpose of this resurrection is to pass judgment upon men (6). The resurrection of the former physical bodies is also vividly stated in the following passage:

> Even though fire destroy all traces of my flesh, the world receives the vaporized matter; and though dispersed through rivers and seas, or torn in pieces by wild

beasts, I am laid up in the storehouses of a wealthy Lord. And, although the poor and the godless know not what is stored up, yet God the sovereign, when he pleases, will restore the substance that is visible to him alone to its pristine condition (6).

Tatian does not undertake to prove anything from prophecy, neither does he fall back on the teachings of either Jesus or Paul or any of the New Testament books to substantiate the resurrection. He devotes a relatively large part to a consideration of it, but it is mostly indirectly, and approached through his peculiar psychology. He does not mention the resurrection of Jesus, neither his second coming, nor a millennium; and has no place for Hades.

The apologists took great pains in setting forth the Christian article of the resurrection of the flesh, which was so offensive to Graeco-Roman culture. Only in a few cases did they compromise with their opponents; as a rule, they were driven to the opposite extreme, and the influence of Hellenism was purely negative. With the exception of Tatian, they all prove the resurrection of the flesh in about the same manner. The value of their labors is twofold: (1) they set forth the resurrection in clear and unmistakable terms; (2) they brought into existence an array of argumentative material.

CHAPTER V

THE GNOSTICS

Gnosticism deserves an important place in a discussion of the resurrection in the ante-Nicene period. In the first place, a knowledge of Gnostic tenets concerning the resurrection is a necessary introduction to Irenaeus and Tertullian; and in the second place, Gnosticism itself is a phase of Christian history, and as such it deserves attention, too. Gnosticism is simply an acute Hellenization of Christianity. With reference to the resurrection Gnostic tenets are most significant. It was the idea of the resurrection, as much as anything else, which divided the early church into two hostile camps. The belief in the resurrection of the flesh was a characteristic mark of the orthodox church; while the denial of it was a characteristic mark of every Gnostic sect. The former advocated a resurrection of body and soul; the latter "disallowed the resurrection affecting the whole man."[1]

In an effort to restate Gnosticism, we are at once confronted with a serious difficulty. The writings of the Gnostics have perished, and we know their tenets only through their opponents, who may often have misunderstood them and given undue emphasis to certain minor statements. *Pistis Sophia* is practically the only monument left coming from the hand of a Gnostic himself. In it are contained a few valuable hints on the resurrection of Jesus.

References to an incipient Gnosticism denying the resurrection appear even in the New Testament. Paul found such a tendency in the midst of the Christian community in Corinth. "How say some among you [Christians] that there is no resurrection of the dead?" (I Cor. 15:12). In II Tim. 2:17, 18, Hymenaeus and Philetus are named as persons who say that "the resurrection is past already."[2] The resurrection is understood by them not in an eschatological, but in a spiritual, or moral, sense. Similar traces of a denial of a resurrection among Christians were found in Ignatius, in Clement II (9:1), Polycarp (7:1), and in Hermas (*Sim.* V. 7). These early documents give the impression that the denial of a fleshly resurrection played into the hands of the libertines, and that as a result many abuses of the flesh ensued. If there is to be no resurrection of the body then

[1] Iren. *Contra Haereses* V. 31: Universam reprobant resurrectionem.

[2] *τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι*; some MSS omit *τήν*.

the flesh, in accordance with their logic, can have free rein. This is brought out still more strikingly in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. This book was written to show that the resurrection of the flesh is a reward for self-control and virginity. Demas and Hermogenes, who are represented as being hostile to this principle and to Paul, reflect the libertine Gnosticism in these words: "We shall teach thee that the resurrection of which this man speaks has taken place, because it has already taken place in the children which we have." Herein is a denial of the resurrection of the flesh in the eschatological sense and an affirmation of it in a moral sense. What is meant, however, by the resurrection continuing in our children cannot be definitely determined, since this is the only instance in early literature of such a doctrine.

On the other hand, there is also a denial of the resurrection on the part of those who were not primarily drawn to an indulgence of the flesh, but whose way of thinking and conception of things in general caused them to look upon the resurrection as a vulgar and inconceivable doctrine. They were serious in their denial of a fleshly resurrection, and it was a matter of life and death for them. This classic Gnosticism was a potent force in the second century; and it is thus important to consider these various Gnostic writers and sects for the purpose of ascertaining what each one held respecting the after-life.

Menander, a disciple of Simon Magus, strenuously opposed a bodily resurrection in the material sense. The body, he taught, was the work of an angel, and was not created by the supreme God. Hence it is to be considered evil and is unworthy of a resurrection (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 5). His disciples, he declares, obtain the resurrection by being baptized into him; whereupon they die no more but remain in the possession of immortal youth (Iren. I. 23:5). Saturnius also taught that angels formed all things, and among them man. These angels tried to form him after the similitude of a certain light which flashed over the world; but man wriggled on the ground like a worm, until a spark of life was sent forth which gave him an erect posture and made him live. This spark of life, after man's death, returns to those things which are of the same nature with itself; while the rest of the body is decomposed into its original elements. A resurrection of the flesh, in accordance with this method of creation and death, is utterly impossible (Iren. I. 24:1).

Basilides alleged that the flesh of Christ possessed no reality and that consequently it can have no resurrection. Jesus, he asserts, was an incorporeal power, and transfigured himself as he pleased, and then ascended into heaven without even being crucified. Salvation belongs to the soul

alone, for the body is by nature subject to corruption (Iren. I. 24:4, 5; Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 2). Valentinus, another prominent Gnostic, taught with reference to Christ that his flesh had qualities peculiar to itself; and that he conversed with his disciples for eighteen months after his resurrection (Tert. *Against Valentinus* 26; Iren. I. 3:2). This fact was undoubtedly taken from a spurious writing, known as the Gospel of Truth (Iren. III. 11:9). The Valentinian account of the last things is decidedly original. On the last day Acamoth enters Pleroma and the Demiurge moves from the celestial Hebdomad into the chamber vacated by his mother. Human beings will have to pass through the same stages, until they reach their final goal, except the wicked, who are annihilated. Though the flesh of the righteous is not saved, yet their souls are saved and are conveyed to the middle regions, where the Demiurge now dwells. Into the Pleroma nothing of the animal nature is admitted. There the souls put off everything except the intellectual, and the intellectual spirits alone enter the Pleroma (Tert. *Against Valentinus* 31; Iren. II. 29:3). The Ophites, another sect, taught that at the crucifixion a spirit from above was sent into Jesus, "who raised up his body again, but only the physical and spiritual since the mundane parts lie in the earth." That which rose was not the former body, and the disciples were mistaken in imagining that it was (Iren. I. 30:13).

Marcion's attitude on the resurrection is shown by Tertullian in the following words: "Marcion does not in any wise admit the resurrection of the flesh, and it is only the salvation of the soul which he promises; consequently the question which he raises is not concerning the *sort* of body, but the very *substance* thereof" (*Against Marcion* V. 10). There are two reasons why Marcion figures as such a strong opponent of the resurrection of the flesh. In the first place, he was diametrically opposed to everything Jewish and to Jewish influences. He believed the God of the Jews to be the Demiurge, and denied the whole Jewish eschatology and the reality of the messianic kingdom. In the second place, his opposition grew out of his dualism. Flesh and spirit, he held, were antagonistic forces, created by two different gods: flesh was created by the evil god, spirit by the good god. Lucan, a disciple of Marcion, sets forth again a different view. He asserted that neither the body nor the soul rises, but a third substance precipitated from these—thus reducing nature in accordance with the principle of Aristotle, and substituting something else in lieu of it (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 2; pseudo-Tert.). Apelles, likewise a pupil of Marcion, also denied the resurrection of the flesh; and with reference to Christ, he said that his body was of sidereal substance, which he assumed

in his descent, and which was deposited again among the stars in the resurrection (pseudo-Tert.). The Carpocratians, Sethians, Cainites, and other Gnostics need not be discussed, since they made no further contribution to the subject, holding merely to the general contention that the soul will rise, but that the body will pass to eternal dissolution. The author of *Pistis Sophia* maintains that Jesus, after rising from the dead, had spent eleven years with his disciples instructing them, during which time he had only the appearance of a body. In the twelfth year he ascended, and the ascension, which is that of the spirit, is set forth very elaborately. Jesus withdraws to certain realms, and then reappears, and withdraws again, until finally the last heaven is reached.

Thus all the Gnostics, although they blankly deny the resurrection of the flesh, predicate in some way or other the soul's immortality. Now this persistence of man's spiritual nature in the after-life was variously conceived. In general, they denied an intermediate place from which the soul had to be transferred, at some future day, to another realm; but taught that immediately after death the soul enters into its final abode (cf. Justin *Dia.* 80; Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 22). In a résumé of Gnostic doctrines, Irenaeus presents us with a helpful summary. He writes (V. 19: 2):

> And still further, some affirm that neither their soul nor their body can receive eternal life, but merely the inner man. Moreover, they will have it that this [inner man] is that which is the understanding (*sensum*) in them, and which they decree as being the only thing to ascend to "the perfect." Others [maintain] . . . . that while the soul is saved, their body does not participate in the salvation which comes from God.

Through an inductive study of the Gnostic tenets as imbedded in the writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and the apologists, it may safely be asserted that they maintained a spiritual survival after death in about four ways: (1) the soul *in toto* survives, and at death immediately passes into its final place (Basilides and others); (2) only the inner sense or understanding (*sensus*) survives (Valentinus); (3) a third substance passes into the other world, which is neither body nor soul (Lucan); (4) a body survives, but not the former mundane body (Ophites).

The Gnostics did not drop the word "resurrection" out of their vocabulary. It would have been an unwise policy for them to disregard altogether the Jewish and Christian expression "resurrection of the dead." They used it in three different senses. In the first place, they employed it eschatologically, declaring, in accordance with their tenets, that the resurrection of the dead simply means that the *soul* is immortal, and being immortal,

it can be thought of as having a resurrection (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 18). In the second place, they used it in a moral or ethical sense, asserting that the resurrection takes place now—that is, as soon as men come to a knowledge of the truth (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 19, 22)—hence the expression "the resurrection is past already." Then, in the third place, "resurrection of the dead" was used allegorically. Some maintained that it meant an escape out of the world, "since, in their view, the world is the habitation of the dead—that is, of those who know not God;" others maintained that it actually meant an escape out of the body itself, "since they imagine that the body detains the soul when it is shut up in the death of a worldly life, as in a grave" (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 19).

While, on the one hand, the Gnostics strenuously held to the survival of spiritual personality after death; on the other hand, they emphatically and repeatedly denied the resurrection of the flesh. This was the starting point of their whole system of theology, according to Tertullian, who states that they start from this point, and from it "sketch the first draft of their dogmas and afterward add the details" (*Resur. of Flesh* 4, 11). Their denial of the resurrection of the flesh grew out of presuppositions fundamental to their entire system. A very close analogy between Gnostic and heathen opposition is noticeable. In fact, it is an impossibility to separate sharply between specific Gnostic and specific heathen arguments. The Fathers recognized this, and declared that there is no difference between Gnostic teachings on the resurrection and those of the heathen. A comparison of the arguments of the heathen opponents, as reflected in pseudo-Justin and Athenagoras, with the Gnostic opponents, as reflected in Irenaeus and Tertullian, confirms this observation. The Gnostics denied the resurrection of the flesh on the ground that the flesh is an ignoble and unclean substance—ignoble as to its origin and casualities, "unclean from its first formation of the dregs of the ground, unclean afterwards from the mire of its own seminal transmission, worthless, weak, covered with guilt, laden with misery, full of trouble." They held to a dualism between body and soul, matter and spirit. The former was created either by an angel or angels, or the Demiurge; the latter by the good God. Redemption was the process of freeing the soul forever from its material bondage. Christ's resurrection could therefore be only a resurrection of his spirit. The material character of his resurrection was denied from two standpoints. In the first place, there were those who denied the reality of his flesh, saying that it was impossible for Jesus to assume flesh, since flesh was evil. In this case the resurrection of the flesh is at once excluded. This position was prominent in the systems of Marcion and Basilides.

In the second place, it was asserted by some, especially by Valentinus and Apelles, that this body was of an entirely different creation from that of man: it was sidereal and was again deposited among the stars after the resurrection.

With reference to the interpretation of Scripture bearing on the resurrection, the Gnostics have been charged with an allegorical interpretation. As a matter of fact, some of their interpretations are allegorical; but the bulk of those referring to the resurrection, at least, as far as they are collected in the secondary sources, is truer to a historico-grammatical exegesis than the orthodox interpretation of that day. They are charged with allegorical interpretations sometimes where there is no allegorical interpretation. Thus, for instance, Tertullian charges them with torturing Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones into a proof of an allegorical sense. The Gnostics interpreted correctly that this vision was simply an image and not a true prediction of the resurrection, and that it taught the political restoration of the nation (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 30); while the same incident was used incorrectly by the orthodox Christians to defend a resurrection of the flesh. Jesus was interpreted by the Gnostics as having taught, merely and consistently, a resurrection of the soul. His answer to the Sadducees was for them an exclusive proof of a spiritual resurrection. Aside from Marcion, who somewhat changed Luke's text to suit his purpose, the Gnostics held that the "likeness to angels" (*ἰσάγγελοί εἰσιν*) debarred altogether a bodily resurrection. They also made use of other sayings of Jesus, which they interpreted in conformity with their tenets. However, the clearest and the strongest witness they found in Paul. They used the same passages to substantiate their position that the Fathers used. They evidently laid great emphasis on the phrase, "Therefore we are always confident and fully aware, that while we are at home in the body we are absent from the Lord" (Tert. *Resur. of Flesh* 43). The Pauline term "spiritual body" was for them another proof of the survival of the soul without the body. And the term "natural body" (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*) they held to be merely a paraphrase of soul (*ψυχή*), in the expression "it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." Their greatest proof-text was I Cor. 15:50: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Flesh and blood were interpreted, not in a spiritual, but in a literal sense, and correctly so. That this was a great proof-text of the Gnostics is evident from the fact that Tertullian devotes four chapters (*Resur. of Flesh* 48–51) and Irenaeus three (V. 9–11) to the refutation of their interpretation of it. The Gnostics were charged with first formulating their doctrines and then going to Scripture and interpreting it in accord

with them. Yet in spite of this criticism we cannot but feel that they must have been greatly influenced by Jesus and Paul. Their method of interpretation was not simply an attempt to conform Scripture to their tenets, but, on the other hand, Scripture rather contributed to the formulation of their system. Whether, therefore, accidentally or otherwise, they nevertheless came very close to the results of modern historical interpretation of Scripture bearing on the resurrection; even though with reference to other subjects this statement in no wise holds good.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT POLEMICISTS

In opposition to the spiritualistic and metaphysical beliefs about the soul is the elaborate treatment of the resurrection of the flesh by Irenaeus and Tertullian, dating from the latter part of the second and the beginning of the third century. They revived, on the resurrection, the ideas and arguments of the apologists, and, in addition, sought elaborate scriptural proofs for their position. The importance attached to the resurrection of the flesh, at this time, is evident also from the Old Roman Symbol[1] out of which arose our Apostles' Creed. The resurrection, ascension, and session of Jesus are mentioned in it; but its greatest significance lies in the article referring to the resurrection of the flesh. The article, "the resurrection of the flesh,"[2] phrased as it was with the emphasis upon flesh, is a clear protest against the denial of the salvability of the flesh. In the Old Roman Symbol this article stood by itself at the close of the creed. It was evidently appended to this three-membered creed based upon the threefold baptismal formula. It is an article entirely unrelated to what precedes. All this simply shows the tremendous importance of the article in the eyes of the author or authors. Scarcely another article in the creed was considered of such importance as the one which originally read: "I believe in the resurrection of the flesh." The import of this article of faith comes to view more fully in our study of Irenaeus and Tertullian.

Irenaeus undertook a systematic exposition and overthrow of all heresies. In this polemic the resurrection holds an important place. In his last book of *Against Heresies*, he deals almost exclusively with the last things. The denial of the reality of the flesh of Christ, involving a denial of his fleshly resurrection, and the denial of the salvation of the flesh, making the fleshly resurrection of men impossible—all this is part of the thesis against which his argument on the resurrection is directed (V. 1:2; 31:1). He also reflects Christian tradition in the form of a primitive creed in at least three instances. He observes that in the Catholic church itself divergent views exist on the nature of the resurrection, especially in its

[1] Originated between 150–175 A. D. See McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed*. Variant forms of this Symbol are found in Iren. I. 10:1; IV. 33:7; V. 20:1.

[2] σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. Our English translation of it, "resurrection of the body," somewhat obscures the original signification of this article.

relation to the millennium (V. 31:1). There can be no question but that he appreciates and defines accurately the generally accepted orthodox position. A noteworthy passage on the nature of the resurrection of Jesus and of men, and the relation which the two sustain, is recorded in V. 31:1, 2.

> But the case was, that for three days he dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says concerning him. . . . And the Lord himself says, "As Jonas remained three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth." . . . . And on his rising again, the third day, he said to Mary, who was the first to see and to worship him, "touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and unto your Father." If, then, the Lord observed the law of the dead, that he might become the first-begotten from the dead, and tarried until the third day "in the lower parts of the earth;" then afterward rising in the flesh, so that he even showed the print of the nails to his disciples, he thus ascended to the Father. . . . . For as the Lord went away in the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were, yet afterward arose in the body, and after the resurrection was taken up [into heaven], it is manifest that the souls of his disciples also, upon whose account the Lord underwent these things, shall go away into the invisible place allotted to them by God and there remain until the resurrection, awaiting that event; then receiving their bodies, and rising in their entirety, that is bodily, just as the Lord arose, they shall come thus into the presence of God. "For no disciple is above the Master, but every one that is perfect shall be as his Master." As our Master, therefore, did not at once depart, taking flight [to heaven], but awaited the time of his resurrection prescribed by the Father, which had been also shown forth through Jonas, and rising again after three days was taken up [to heaven]; so ought we also to await the time of our resurrection prescribed by God and foretold by the prophets, and so, rising, be taken up, as many as the Lord shall account worthy of this [privilege].

The contention of the entire passage is to establish the resurrection of the flesh. (1) The resurrection of a material organism is deduced from the gospel narrative, and dependence is shown on one of those gospels—the Gospel of John[1]—in which the appearances of a material body are very prominent. (2) The characteristic repetitions—"Jesus tarrying in Hades for three days" or "until the third day"—are deliberately used as an indirect argument for a fleshly resurrection. The Gnostics (Valentinians) taught that the soul of man passes upon his death immediately into heaven. Irenaeus, however, insists that this was not the case with Jesus; for he remained in Hades until the appointed time, after which

[1] John 20:17, 20, 27. Cf. Iren. V. 7:1 for a similar argument based on this gospel, in which reference is made to the prints in his risen body.

he arose in the flesh, manifested himself to his disciples in the flesh, and then ascended into heaven in the flesh. (3) The stages through which Christ passed are the stages through which men—believers—must pass. Jesus was an example of what the resurrection of men shall be. The disciples will not fare better than their Master. They will also at death go to Hades and there remain until the time of the resurrection, when they shall arise in their entirety, that is, with their bodies, even as Christ who did not leave his body upon the earth. (4) The ascension as well as the resurrection is one in the flesh and in the former body. The language of the passage conveys no other idea than that the ascension body is similar to the resurrection body; which will be true of men, even as it was of Jesus.

The ideas of the resurrection as set forth in the above passage are in perfect accord with the rest of the teachings of Irenaeus. The resurrection is discussed in other connections, and is approached from other points of view, and arrived at through other arguments. At this point reference may also be made to another event in the post-resurrection life of Jesus—his second coming. This is to be in the same flesh in which he tabernacled among men (III. 16:8). Jesus came in the flesh, the heavens were opened and he was received in the flesh, and he "shall also come in the same flesh in which he suffered."

Irenaeus insists more strenuously and consistently than any writer thus far examined that the risen body is the exact reproduction of the former body, both as to form and as to substance. God, he declares, confers a proper soul on each individual body and in the resurrection the same body shall unite again with its own soul and spirit. The doctrine of metempsychosis has no place (II. 33:1–5), for the very reason that punishment must be inflicted and judgment pronounced on the soul with its own and only body. But it is not merely the same bodies that will be restored, but also the same substances in the bodies. "The same substance of flesh which has become breathless and dead shall also be quickened" (V. 12:2). And in one of the fragments,[1] it is specifically stated that the bodies after death decompose, but without perishing; that the remains, which are mixed with the earth, are, in the resurrection, recast and restored to their original form; and that between the mundane and the risen body there is only one difference, and that is in reference to corruption, the former being subject to decay, because of primeval disobedience, which is not true of the risen body. Deformities also will not continue as is evident from Christ's healings, the object of which was to restore

[1] Frag. xii; this seems to be a quotation from the lost treatise of Irenaeus, *On the Resurrection*.

infirm parts to their original condition, so that they would be in a position to obtain salvation (V. 12:6; 13:1). The wicked, on the other hand, will rise with their deformities and diseases and sufferings, with bodies always corruptible.

Irenaeus also proves the resurrection of the flesh from the Eucharist (IV. 18:5; V. 2:2, 3). This is an original argument in proof of the resurrection of the flesh, though it was slightly alluded to heretofore by Ignatius (*Eph.* 20). Bread and wine, which are both earthly and heavenly, are the material through which a seed of immortality enters into man. The bread and wine through the word of God become the body and blood of Christ. And as such the Eucharist so nourishes the flesh that total dissolution becomes impossible. "When, therefore, the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receive the word of God, and the Eucharist of the blood and body of Christ is made, from which things the substance of our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God."[1] A true redemption of "the body of flesh" is thus inferred from its sacramental union with the body and blood of Christ. Our bodies, like Christ's, shall be raised incorruptible; "for we are members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones." Believers are made one with him by sacramentally receiving him, which accordingly makes the dissolution of the body impossible. Nothing, he concludes is more natural than the resurrection of the flesh when one has partaken of Christ's flesh.

The resurrection of the flesh is attributed also to the power of God. There is nothing inherent in the substance of the body which will cause it to rise; but it rises through the power of God (V. 6:2), spoken of sometimes as a gift from God (IV. 9:2). Then there is ample proof that God has this power to raise the dead. The fact of creation assures re-creation; for it is easier to reinstate the body than to have created it originally out of the dust (V. 3:2). If God quickens and sustains the flesh in this present, temporal life he will certainly do the same in the eternal life (V. 3:3). Another proof is the lengthened period of life granted to the patriarchs; the translation of Enoch and Elijah; the preservation of Jonah in the whale, and of Ananias, Azarias, and Misaël in the furnace of fire (V. 5). Again, if God were not to raise dead bodies then he would be either weak or powerless, or else envious or malignant; but none of these attributes belongs to him (V. 4).

[1] Irenaeus *Contra Haereses*, V. 2:3: Ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ (*et fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi*) ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὔξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις· πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ.

The most significant and original approach to the resurrection is from the standpoint of psychology and the interpretation of Paul. In the sixth chapter of the fifth book, Irenaeus begins to set forth a trichotomy. Before this he had presented a dichotomy. "Man is a mixed organization of soul and flesh" is his usual designation of the make-up of man (cf. IV. Pref.; III. 22:1). This division of body, soul, and spirit to which he now adheres, he undoubtedly derived from Paul; inasmuch as he makes a deliberate reference to I Thess. 5:23 at the beginning of this section. He contends that salvation, that is, the resurrection, is bestowed on the whole nature of man, who is a "commingling and union of all these." Hence it follows that the flesh, as well as the soul and the spirit, will persist in a life beyond the grave. He calls it blasphemy to assert that "the temple of God," "the members of Christ" (I Cor. 3:16, 17), which are the flesh, should not partake of salvation, but that they should be reduced to perdition. Again, he takes up Paul's phrase, "quicken your mortal bodies," and shows that "mortal bodies" has reference neither to souls, since souls, which are equivalent to the breath of life, are incorporeal; nor to spirits, since spirit is simple and non-composite, subject to no decomposition and, in fact, the quickening life itself; but to the flesh, for it alone can be decomposed and quickened. He comments on I Cor., chap. 15, but reads into the Pauline conception a resurrection of the body in the material sense. He uses the term "spiritual body," and defines it as the body in which the Spirit dwells. The change from the psychical body to the spiritual is through the Spirit's instrumentality, whereby the body undergoes no particle of change, save that the source from which it receives its life is changed. At great length (V. 9–11) does he expound the words in I Cor. 15:50, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." This phrase was, as we have already seen, the slogan of the Gnostics who used it to disprove the resurrection of the body. Irenaeus, on the other hand, insists that "flesh and blood" is not to be taken in the literal meaning of the terms; but that the words apply to the carnal deeds which pervert man to sin and deprive him of life (V. 14:4). The expression, he maintains, simply means that "*mere* flesh and blood devoid of the Spirit of God" and good works cannot inherit the kingdom of God. It refers to fleshly works rather than flesh strictly so called. "Unless the word of God dwell with, and the Spirit of the Father be in you, and if ye shall live frivolously and carelessly as if ye were this only, viz., mere flesh and blood, ye cannot enter the kingdom of God." (V. 9).

This same truth is also enforced by his trichotomous psychology. Spirit is that which preserves and fashions the man; flesh is that which

is united and formed; while between these two stands the soul, which sometimes follows the spirit and is raised up by it, and sometimes sympathizes with the flesh and falls into carnal lusts (V. 9:1). Hence, "mere flesh and blood" exist when the soul has become a sharer of the flesh and a neglecter of the spirit. The comparison drawn from the wild olive tree, the quality of which though not the nature, is changed by grafting, also indicates that the Spirit of God enforcing the human spirit will not transform the substance of flesh.

The millennium receives some treatment in the last five chapters of the last book. Just as it is an appendix to this book, so is it also an appendix to his thought; and it does not in the least alter the position which he has thus far assumed on the resurrection. The millennium is not an integral part of the resurrection idea as it was with Justin. The resurrection of the just, or the first resurrection, in this millennium appendix, involves a resuscitation of dead bodies.

To summarize the teachings of Irenaeus very briefly, we would say: (1) his discussion on the resurrection is largely polemic, directed against those who denied a bodily resurrection in the material sense; (2) he sets forth with stern consistency what he terms "the resurrection of the flesh;" which, in his mind, is a resuscitation of the former body, being identical with it as to both form and substance; (3) there is no difference between the resurrection body of Jesus and of believing men; (4) literary dependence is shown on the resurrection narratives of the Gospels of John and Luke and the present conclusion of Mark; and out of these gospels the crass materialism alone is selected. He also makes the first real attempt to interpret Paul on the resurrection; and yet, at every turn, he interprets him as teaching a fleshly resurrection of the body. The term "spiritual body" is a material body in which the Spirit dwells, and the phrase "flesh and blood" is devitalized into ethical terms; (5) the arguments in substantiation of a resurrection of the flesh are many and various: they are scriptural, psychological, and theological. Messianism is no longer a controlling thought, and chiliasm is a mere appendix. Apart from scriptural proofs, the competency of God, salvation belonging to the whole man, the nourishment in the Eucharist, and the possession of God's spirit are the most significant arguments.

We now come to Tertullian, whose treatment of the resurrection is the fullest of any of the ante-Nicene Christian Fathers. Like pseudo-Justin and Athenagoras, he devoted a treatise exclusively to the resurrection entitled, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*,[1] in which the resurrection received,

[1] *De Resurrectione Carnis.*

in an orderly manner, a more comprehensive discussion than it had in any of the preceding monographs. The resurrection is also discussed in many of his other writings. The resurrection to which he holds is the resurrection of the flesh, and in the gamut of his thinking it is an important doctrine. He calls it the Christian trust (*fiducia*), "a truth which God reveals, but the crowd derides." He also asserts that the very oneness of the Godhead is closely related to this doctrine; "for if the resurrection of the flesh be denied, [that prime article of the faith] is shaken; if it be asserted, it is established."[1] He explicitly states that he who denies this doctrine which is professed by Christians, is not a Christian, but a heretic.

Now the specific ideas which Tertullian held on the resurrection can best be presented in following his line of argument as recorded in his work *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, to which additional material, when in order, will be inserted from his other works, either to confirm, or to elaborate, or to check. This book is a polemic from beginning to end. It is directed against those who maintain that the world was created by the Demiurge, who was opposed to the supreme God; that the flesh or body of man is inherently corrupt and worthless; and that, therefore, the body cannot rise again, while the soul alone is capable of immortality. In the first place, it is asserted that the world, with all its errors, does not ignore the resurrection of the dead. While a few wise men have denied immortality, yet most of them predicate a future state for the soul. And they even unconsciously give testimony to the resurrection of the body. The common people, in their banquets and sacrifices for the dead, and the philosophers, through the doctrine of metempsychosis, bear indirect testimony to the truth of revelation. "They knocked at the door of truth, although they entered not." (1–3;[2] *Against Marcion* V. 9; *On Nations* I. 19).

The first real proof of the resurrection of the flesh is the dignity of the body (4–10). Tertullian lays hold of almost every argument possible to set forth this truth. Former writers had made reference to this fact, but in none was it completely developed. It has a great apologetic value, and Tertullian was conscious of this, knowing that the disparagement of the flesh was the first "battering-ram of the heretics." If it can be shown, he argued, that the flesh is worthful instead of loathsome, and if it can be pointed out that Hellenic dualism is fictitious, then the first great premise of a belief in the resurrection of the flesh is established.

That the flesh is dignified and worthful, and not evil, is shown in various

[1] *Op. cit.* 2: "Sicut enim negata carnis resurrectione concutitur, ita vindicata constabilitur."

[2] Unless otherwise stated, all references are to *De Resur. Carnis.*

ways. It is worthful because it was created by God, and, in fact, it received a special creation at his hand. We should not think of the lowliness of the material out of which the flesh was made, but of the dignity and skill of the maker; just as the Olympian Jupiter of ivory is the world's supreme deity—not because of the bulk of the elephant from which the material was taken, but on account of the renown of Phidias. Moreover, the flesh is not merely a minister and servant of the soul, but it turns out to be also its associate and coheir. "And if all this in temporal things, why not also in things eternal?" In one's relation to Christianity the flesh holds an important position. "Flesh is the very condition on which salvation hinges." Thus baptism, the sign of the cross, the imposition of hands, partaking of the Eucharist, as well as virginity, widowhood, and restraint are all done through the flesh. Scripture magnifies the flesh under the terms "temple of God" and "members of Christ." Attached to the dignity of the flesh lies the competency of God as a proof of the resurrection of the flesh. And this is evident from the fact that if God was competent to create, he is also competent to recreate, which is the easier matter. It is much easier to maintain a continuance than to have imparted a beginning.

Similarly, the argument from analogy—the change of day and night, the changes in the moon, the changes in the seasons, the transformation in the plants, and the symbol of the phoenix—is a proof of the resurrection of the flesh (11, 12; cf. *Against Marcion* V. 10; *Apol.* 48). Through nature God proclaimed the resurrection before he wrote it in Scripture. There is also a sufficient cause for the resurrection of the flesh in the future judgment of man (14). This judgment involves the entire human being: "Now, since the entire man consists of the union of two natures, he must therefore appear in both, as it is right that he should be judged in his entirety." The flesh participates with the soul in all human conduct, and it will receive punishment or reward in accordance with its deeds (15). Should this not be so, then God would have to be either idle or unjust; but this cannot be attributed to God. Tertullian does not hold that the flesh will have to be present at the final judgment, because otherwise the soul would be incapable of suffering pain or pleasure being incorporeal. He asserts that the soul *per se* is capable of joy and sorrow in Hades, even without a body (17); although there is considerable variation in his language upon this subject. In his *Apology* (48) and *Testimony of the Soul* (4), he speaks as if the soul could not suffer when separated from the body; but in the *Resurrection of the Flesh* and in his *Treatise on the Soul* he maintains that the soul is corporeal and capable of sensation. This is inferred from the parable of Dives and Lazarus, in which he supposes that souls

are corporeal, since they could be imprisoned and seen and touched (cf. *Soul* 7). In Hades souls either undergo punishment for the evil deeds that were executed without the flesh, or refreshment for the pious acts so executed (cf. *Soul* 58). Granting, then, that a soul is corporeal and susceptible to torments and blessings, nevertheless, in spite of this provision, he insists most strenuously that this is not sufficient, but that there must be somehow and at some time a union of soul with its former body in order that full compensation may be made for the deeds done through and by the flesh.

Even though Tertullian finds a great presumption in favor of the resurrection of the flesh from a general consideration apart from Scripture, nevertheless, he considers all this merely prefatory, and falls back on an exposition of Scripture as the strongest proof of his position. He denounces the Gnostics for an allegorical interpretation in matters pertaining to the resurrection; and yet himself uses and justifies an allegorical interpretation sometimes when it suits his purpose. He also insists that figurative senses have their foundation in literal facts; that "vacuity is not a consistent basis for a similitude, nor does nonentity form a suitable foundation for a parable." In his work, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, a systematic attempt is made to interpret the Old as well as the New Testament on the subject of the resurrection. Though most of his interpretations are crude and incorrect they are nevertheless significant for this historical study. He takes up the scriptural expression, "the resurrection of the dead" (*resurrectio mortuorum*), and explains to what substance these terms apply (18–22). He refers them to the rising of that which has fallen, and that which has fallen is not the soul, but the flesh. "It is the flesh which falls by death; and accordingly it derives its name, *cadaver*, 'corpse' from *cadendo*, 'falling.'" In *Against Marcion*, the same idea is brought forth with still greater completeness.

"To rise," indeed, can be predicated of that which has never fallen down, but had already been always lying down. But "to rise *again*" is predicable only of that which has fallen down; because it is by rising *again*, in consequence of its having fallen down, that it is said to have *re*-risen. For the syllable *re*- always implies iteration (or happening *again*).[1]

Tertullian finds an unquestionable proof of the resurrection of the flesh in the Christian apocalypses (24–27). In his description of the last

[1] *Adv. Marcionem* (V. 9): "Surgere enim potest dici et quod omnino non cecidit, quod semper retro iacuit. Resurgere autem non est nisi eius quod cecidit; iterum enim surgendo, quia cecidit, resurgere dicitur. RE enim syllaba iterationi semper adhibetur."

days and the Lord's coming, a fleshly resurrection is always assumed. Such language, he maintains, could not have been used of the soul, inasmuch as these apocalypses project the resurrection into some future time, and imply that the soul does not attain unto its destiny immediately at death. In his use of Old Testament material he makes many allegorical interpretations. The terms "Kingdom of God" and "Millennium" were spiritualized. This is very significant since we should have expected the same crass materialism here that is adhered to in other instances; but he explicitly states that those terms which are associated with a millennium must not be taken literally (26). He finds a doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh in the restoration of the hand of Moses (38), in Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones, and in the preservation of Jonah in the whale (32).

In commenting upon the teachings of Jesus, Tertullian declares that the bodily character of the resurrection is avowedly assumed wherever the word resurrection occurs. The words, "The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke 19:10), are referred to the whole man—soul and flesh (33, 34). The destruction of the body and soul in hell (Matt. 10:28) also pre-supposes a resurrection, for, unless the body were raised again, "it would be impossible for the flesh to be killed in hell" (35). Christ's refutation of the Sadducees is, however, of more vital interest for our purpose (36). He states that the Sadducees denied a resurrection both of the soul and of the flesh, and that Jesus affirmed this verity in the precise sense in which they were denying it; that is, he affirmed the resurrection of the two natures of man. "Equal unto the angels" means a transference into an angelic state by the putting on of the raiment of incorruption (cf. also 62). Christ's acts were no ostentatious exhibition of power for a temporary kindness, but in order to put in safe keeping (*sequestrare*) the belief in a future resurrection, and to prove that that resurrection would be a resurrection of both natures (*substantia*) (38).

He refers to the Acts of the Apostles, in which he finds the resurrection of the flesh amply attested. In his preaching before the Sadducees, before Agrippa, and before the Athenians, Paul, it is alleged, could not have taught anything else but a bodily resurrection in a material sense; which, being an absolutely new doctrine, was thereupon opposed (39). The largest space, however, in his interpretation of Scripture with reference to the resurrection is devoted to Paul's epistles (40–63). The inner and the outer man, the old man and the new man, the figure of baptism, and various other teachings are marshaled together in support of the resurrection of the flesh. The passages most potent for his purpose are II Cor., chap. 5, and I Cor., chap. 15; and in the interpretation of these the real nature and

character of the resurrection body are set forth. In II Cor., chap. 5, he finds a distinct reference to a resurrection of a corporeal body. The expression, "clothed upon," presupposes a resurrection of the flesh which can be clothed, since clothing can only be put over a material body. However this act of being clothed upon, with a kind of heavenly supervesture, makes the bodies incorruptible and fit for their heavenly habitation (41). In *Against Marcion* (V. 12) this passage in conjunction with I Cor. 15:53 receives its fullest exposition as follows:

> In this tabernacle of our earthly body we do groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with the vesture which is from heaven, if so be that, having been unclothed, we shall not be found naked;" in other words, shall regain that of which we have been divested, even our body. And again he says: "We that are in this tabernacle do groan, not as if we were oppressed with an unwillingness to be unclothed, but (we wish) to be clothed upon." He here says expressly, what he touched but lightly in his first epistle (where he wrote): "The dead shall be raised incorruptible" (meaning those who had undergone mortality), "and we shall be changed" (whom God shall find to be yet in the flesh). But those shall be raised incorruptible, because they shall regain their body—and that a renewed one, from which shall come their incorruptibility; and these also shall in the crisis of the last moment, and from their instantaneous death, whilst encountering the oppressions of anti-Christ, undergo a change, obtaining therein not so much a divestiture of the body as a "clothing upon" with the vesture which is from heaven. So that whilst these shall put on over their (changed) body this heavenly raiment, the dead also shall for their part recover their body, over which they too have a supervesture to put on, even the incorruption of heaven; because of these it was that he said: "this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." The one put on this (heavenly) apparel, when they recover their bodies; the others put it on as a supervesture, when they indeed hardly lose them (in the suddenness of their change).

Like Irenaeus, he interprets "flesh and blood" in an ethical sense, asserting over and over that it has reference not to the substance of the flesh but to the works thereof (48–51; *Against Marcion* V. 10–15). Paul's analogy of the seed is to teach, not that, in the resurrection, a different body is to arise from that which is sown in death, but that "the very same flesh which was once sown in death will bear fruit in resurrection-life—the same in essence, only more full and perfect; not another, although reappearing in another form" (52). Paul does "not deny a community of substance, but a parity of prerogative" in his illustration of certain examples of animals and heavenly bodies (52). Likewise, the term "spiritual body" denotes a body fully possessed of the spirit, and has no reference to a change in substance (53; *Against Marcion* V. 10).

Thus far we have observed Tertullian's arguments for the resurrection of the flesh as derived from a consideration of the nature of the flesh, the nature of God, and the teachings of Scripture. When we turn to his treatment of the soul, and attempt to approach the resurrection from the standpoint of his psychology, we come to an anticlimax and an inconsistency. In his treatise, *On the Soul*, he sets forth the Stoic conception of the soul's corporeality. He asserts that the view of the Stoics with reference to the soul is correct; viz., that the soul is corporeal and even material (8); that it has a body of a quality and kind peculiar to itself, such as form, limitation, and "the triad of dimensions—length, breadth, and height;" that the shape is that of the body, the color, transparent light (9); that it can think and feel and exist apart from the body (9; 58); that it is invisible to the flesh, but visible to the spirit (8). Evidently Tertullian is Stoic as well as Christian; and certainly he does not correlate nor synthesize his idea of a corporeal, and even material, soul with his fundamental doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh.

What now is the precise nature of this resurrection body which he terms the resurrection of the flesh? There is, in the first place, a stern insistence upon the restoration of the former body. "Souls are to receive back at the resurrection the self-same bodies in which they died." They are also to resume the same conditions and the same ages (*Soul* 56). He concludes his special work on the resurrection by stating the belief which to him is the only true and well-founded belief—"and so thy flesh shall rise again, wholly in every man, in its own identity, and in its absolute integrity."[1] On the other hand, he speaks of certain changes which will come about in the resurrection body. It is significant to notice that whenever language is used giving the impression of a change in the risen body, it is while he is either making use of Jesus' answer to the Sadducees, or of Paul's two classic passages on the subject. It is very evident therefore that what sometimes seems to be an inconsistency in his presentation is simply an attempt to conform to some of the expressions of Jesus and Paul. After all, the change of which he speaks is merely a change in the unaltered substance of the flesh. Change he insists does not destroy. Incidentally he mentions (42) a discovery in Carthage which furnishes him with a proof that death changes but does not destroy our mortal bodies. When the men were laying the foundation of the Odeum, they disturbed some ancient graves, and the horror-stricken people looked upon bones which after some five hundred years were still sound, and hair which still retained

[1] *De Resur. Carnis* 63: "Resurget igitur caro, et quidem omnis, et quidem ipsa, et quidem integra."

its perfume. "Changes, conversions, and reformations will necessarily take place to bring about the resurrection, but the substance of the flesh will still be preserved safe" (55). There will be no change in form and appearance of the risen body, from the mundane body, save that mutilated bodies will be restored whole (56), and that some organs will lose their functions. In short, the only change, it seems, which the resurrection body will assume is summed up in the word "incorruptibility;" and, in reality, this is not at all different from the conception of Irenaeus. The deflection from this position is seeming, not real. Fundamentally he held that bodies will rise exactly as they were put in the grave, with the same form and with the same component parts and particles; and that at a certain stage in the resurrection the righteous will be clothed upon by a supervesture from heaven, which will in no wise change the flesh, but only make it perfect, incorruptible, whole, and fit for heaven.

There is also in his thought a relation between the resurrection of Jesus and the resurrection of men. The flesh of Christ which came through the virgin birth rose again in absolute identity. And as is this resurrection so is also our resurrection. Tertullian shows at the conclusion of his treatise, *On the Flesh of Christ*, that there is a close connection between Christ's flesh and the resurrection of the flesh, and also states therein that this treatise was introductory to his greater work, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*. The resurrection narratives as set forth in the gospels are referred to and interpreted in harmony with his conception of a bodily resurrection in the material sense. Thus Jesus rose from the dead on the third day, and was received back into heaven (*Answer to the Jews* 13). He comments especially on Luke's narrative, and interprets it in none other than in a material sense, enlarging now and then with additional proofs to show that that which appeared to the disciples was not a phantom, but a real body. He says that Jesus offered his hands and his feet for examination, and asked his disciples for some meat, for the express purpose of showing them that he had teeth (*Against Marcion* IV. 43). The Gospel of John does not state that Thomas touched Jesus when he presented himself to him in the upper room; but Tertullian, who is so convinced of a material risen body, asserts that Thomas touched him and that "the touch was true and real" (*Soul* 17). It is also very interesting to notice that there are imbedded in these writings two traditions concerning the resurrection of Jesus which are unique. The one states that Jesus spent forty days with his disciples down in Galilee, a region of Judea (*Apol.* 21); the other, which he distinctly calls a tradition, reads that the gardener removed the body in order that his lettuce might not be spoiled by sight-seers (*The Shows* 30).

The voluminous material into which Tertullian has drawn us through his voluminous treatment may be thus summarized: (1) the resurrection held the foremost place in his writings, and his treatment of it was largely apologetic, being directed against Gnostic teachings; (2) the resurrection is a resurrection of the flesh, which rises again "wholly in every man, in its own identity, in its absolute integrity," the only change being in a perfection of the flesh, and in an incorruption on the part of those who will be clothed upon when they enter the kingdom; (3) the resurrection narratives of Luke and John are adhered to in the references to the resurrection of Jesus; and there is not merely a reproduction of the crass materialism of these narratives, but the body is either consciously or unconsciously given a still more realistic form; (4) the teachings of Jesus and Paul on the resurrection are comprehensively treated, but misinterpreted; (5) the approach to the resurrection is from almost every standpoint, and the arguments of the apologists and Irenaeus are recast and restated in the brightest light, together with additional material.

In the two great polemicists—Irenaeus and Tertullian—the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh became crystallized and reached its fullest treatment. The doctrine is established; it has currency in the creed, and the arguments in substantiation of it are most carefully and comprehensively wrought out by Tertullian. The battle against the Gnostics is won, and from henceforth the subject receives less attention and very little increment.

CHAPTER VII

THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL

Turning to the Alexandrian school we are confronted with a different situation and another presentation of the resurrection. Alexandria was the fountainhead of Hellenistic speculations, and there is an a-priori presumption that the idea of the resurrection was influenced by this atmosphere. An inductive study at once reveals the fact that the resurrection is conceived of in a sense other than it was by Irenaeus and Tertullian. Clement of Alexandria has hardly anything to say on the resurrection. It has for him little interest, and is not a fundamental doctrine in his conception of Christianity. He promised, however, a treatise on the resurrection, but evidently he never composed it, or if so, all traces of it are lost. In his extant writings the references to the resurrection are not merely brief but also fanciful, so that one can scarcely be confident in the interpretation of certain passages. Clement repeatedly speaks of the after-life in the sense of immortality; and whenever he refers to the future life in a general way, one receives the impression that in the hereafter it is the soul merely that survives. Scripture is never appealed to in an effort to prove the resurrection, or in an attempt to set forth its nature. In any case Clement invariably approaches Christian truths from a philosophical basis rather than on scriptural grounds, and whenever he uses Scripture he prefers an allegorical interpretation.

Clement disparaged the body rather than elevated it to the dignity which others had given it. He does not think that the resurrection of the body is necessary on the ground that it may share in the rewards and punishments. "The soul of man is confessedly the better part of man, and the body the inferior" (*Strom.* IV. 26). The body is the source of sinful tendencies, though not necessarily evil. Piety is for him ascetic, a steadfast abstraction from the body and its passions. "The Gnostic soul must be consecrated to the light, stript of the integuments of matter" (*Strom.* V. 11). The elect man dwells in the body simply as a sojourner; for he leaves his dwelling-place—his body—and turns to heaven, giving thanks for his sojourn and blessing God for his departure (*Strom.* IV. 26). Souls when released from their bodies in Hades are able to perceive more clearly, because they are no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh (*Strom.* VI. 6). Thus in his general attitude to the future, in his conception of piety, and

seemingly in his disparagement of the flesh, Clement teaches a doctrine of man's survival after death consonant with the Greek idea of immortality.

On the other hand, Clement speaks of the resurrection of the body and the resurrection of the flesh. He repeats these stereotyped expressions without defining their content. In at least two instances he refers to that which rises as flesh (*Paed.* II. 10; III. 1). But at the same time it is very evident that he does not endeavor to convey the idea that the resurrection is a fleshly resurrection. If he teaches anything concerning a resurrection body, it is a glorified frame which is to be different from this present body. Christ rose "through fire, as the wheat springs from decay to germination," or as earthly fire changes wheat into bread.[1] If these words are to be taken seriously, then fire is the agent, not of chastisement, but of sublimation, by which an organism is fitted for existence in a new sphere. Clement also uses a few incidents from the resurrection narratives of the gospels, and one from the Preaching of Peter, but without comment or application.

The situation in the mind of Clement is something like this. He firmly believes in the future existence of the soul. This is in conformity with the trend of his thought and his idea of the relation of body and soul and his philosophical tendencies. But he cannot free himself from the current accepted terms applied to the resurrection. Hence, he is driven to an inconsistency, saying at one time that the resurrection is of the flesh, and at another that flesh is so sublimated in the resurrection that that which is raised is some kind of a spiritual body. This latter view lends itself more readily to his philosophical conceptions of Greek immortality and undoubtedly was more controlling.

Origen grew up in the same atmosphere, but contrary to Clement's indifference to the resurrection he discusses it with painstaking care. The resurrection has a real and necessary place in his system of thought; and he pieces together with his cunning hand his general views on the subject and the scriptural proofs in substantiation of it. None of his opinions, however, were more vehemently assailed than his teachings on the resurrection. Even in his own time many were offended at his doctrine, and Jerome made a severe attack upon him. Origen wrote a treatise *On the Resurrection*,[2] which is unknown to us save by a few fragments. In his

[1] *Paed.* I 6:4: ὡς ἀνισταμένην δῆθεν [διὰ πυρός], καθάπερ ἐκ φθορᾶς καὶ σπορᾶς ὁ πυρὸς ἀνάσταται, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πυρὸς συνισταμένην εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἄρτον πεπτόμενον.

[2] Περὶ ἀναστάσεως.

extant writings however the subject is treated *in extenso*. The doctrine of the soul's immortality according to the Greek idea is for him "a doctrine of pre-eminent importance;"[1] but it is not the final doctrine: the doctrine of the resurrection is higher and truer. "If, on the other hand, they [souls] do exist, we have still to prove the doctrine of immortality; not only by what the Greeks have so well said regarding it, but also in a manner agreeable to Holy Scripture" (*Celsus* III. 22). Origen denies the doctrine of metempsychosis; confutes chiliasm; and assails the Gnostic denial of the resurrection.

He is fully aware of the difficulties urged against the historic accuracy of the four gospels with reference to the empty tomb; and points out some of the contradictory elements in the narrative (*Celsus* V. 56). But, notwithstanding, he emphatically asserts the reality of the resurrection of Jesus, setting forth scriptural evidences to show that he was seen by many after the resurrection (*Celsus* II. 70). He declares that without the reality of Jesus' resurrection the courage and lasting sincerity of the disciples would be an enigma. He refutes the cavils of Celsus who asserted either that Jesus was an impostor (*Celsus* II. 56); or that his resurrection was a mere deduction from the predictions of Jesus (II. 54); or that an image of what was desired came to Mary (II. 60).

As emphatic as he is on the resurrection of Jesus so emphatic is he also on the resurrection of men. The soul is pre-existent, nevertheless created, and at death passes to Hades, the prison of the imperfect, or to paradise, "the mansion of the blessed." Nevertheless, the soul continues to have a body in this intermediate state, as is shown by the parable of Dives and Lazarus. That the soul has a body in the interim between death and resurrection is an increment of Origen and peculiar to him. Tatian and Tertullian had taught that the soul is corporeal, and used this same parable as proof; but Origen specifically states that the soul is incorporeal (*De Prin.* I. 7). A body in his mind is an added element that clothes an immaterial soul. This body, though different from that which it inhabited in life, is still a body, belonging to this world, and must not be identified with the resurrection body, since the resurrection body belongs to another world.

What now is this resurrection body? In his argument against Celsus, who had ridiculed a bodily resurrection, he says, "Neither we, nor the Holy Scriptures, assert that with the same bodies, without change to a higher condition, 'shall those who were long dead arise from the earth and live again'" (V. 18). The body, which has undergone corruption,

[1] τὸν προηγούμενον ἡμῖν περὶ ψυχῆς κατασκευαστέον λόγον.

does not assume its original nature any more than a grain of wheat which has decayed returns to its former condition (*Celsus* V. 23). The resurrection body will be the same as the present body and yet by no means the same, is his paradoxical way of presentation. Its features are the same, but its texture is quite different. It will be adapted to the requirements of the new environment, and be bereft of all superfluous organs. In consequence of this some of the biblical phrases, like the "gnashing of teeth," cannot be literally understood. Furthermore the resurrection body of the wicked will differ from that of the righteous (*De Prin.* II. 3.) Of still greater import is the fact that the body when cast away shall be transmuted into a condition of glory which renders it spiritual (*De Prin.* III. 5, 6). He calls it spiritual because the material is entirely changed. A spiritual body is for him not a sublimated thing which has neither shape nor content. He taunts the Gnostics because they spoke of a spiritual body which could not be described and which had no shape (*De Prin.* II. 10). Heaven and earth will not be annihilated at the consummation but will simply be changed in quality and transformed in appearance. Likewise, also the bodily nature will not be entirely destroyed, since we cannot conceive that beings so numerous and powerful are able to live without a body. Created beings cannot exist without a body; and incorporeal life is conceived to be the prerogative of the Trinity alone (*De Prin.* I. 6:4).

Origen feels himself indebted to Paul for his belief in a resurrection body which mediates between the soul's immortality and a reanimation of this flesh. He interprets Paul quite accurately. Thus he dwells on his image of the seed (Frag. II. *On Resur.*; *Celsus* V. 18, 19); and finds that the body is the same, not by any material continuity, but by the permanency of that which gives the law of its constitution. He finds place for a germinative principle called the "logos," which is implanted in the body and which is not destroyed (cf. *Celsus* V. 23). In other words, the soul has the vital principle of assimilating matter and of adapting it to its environment. The same principle and law which produce daily changes in the present body will create the spiritual body.

With perfect consistency does he interpret the gospel narratives on the resurrection of Jesus compatibly with his general view of the resurrection. Whatever he claims for the resurrection of men must also be attached to his view of the resurrection of Jesus, but no other. Jesus was raised and that in a body, which was the antitype of the former body.[1] The mortal quality of the body was changed into one that was ethereal and divine.

[1] *Contra Celsum* II. 61: ἐν σώματι ἀντιτύπῳ ἐγήγερθαι.

Commenting upon John 20:26, 27, in which the risen body is conceived of in a material sense, he interprets it so that the risen body is conceived of in a spiritual sense. "And truly, after his resurrection, he existed in a body intermediate, as it were, between the grossness of that which he had before his sufferings, and the appearance of a soul uncovered by such a body" (*Celsus* II. 62). He endeavors at some length to show that the term ἀσώματον "incorporeal" in the phrase, "I am not an incorporeal demon," taken from an uncanonical book, does not have its usual meaning as interpreted by Gentile authors. According to Origen's interpretation, the phrase discloses the fact that attention was drawn by Jesus to his resurrection body; that is, not a body such as demons have, which is fine and as if formed out of air, neither does it resemble this gross and visible body of ours, but a spiritual body which continues to remain solid and palpable (*De Prin.* Pref. 8). This is most significant, since the quotation from the document from which it was taken and as used by Ignatius—assuming identity or relationship between the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Doctrine of Peter—presents the resurrection in a crassly material way.

Origen also finds support for the idea of a spiritual body in his theory of the nature of matter. There is a philosophic ground agreeable to him for the change which the body can undergo. "Matter, which, properly speaking, is without qualities, receives such as the Creator desires to invest it with, and frequently divests itself of those which it formerly possessed and assumes others of a different and higher kind" (*Celsus* III. 41). It is quite natural for this body, "which we style animal," to pass into a spiritual condition and assume spiritual qualities, since "bodily nature was so formed by the Creator, as to pass easily into whatever condition he should wish, or the nature of the case demand" (*De Prin.* III. 6:6, cf. II. 2:2). Transmutation and gradation of matter was, according to his theory of matter, a most simple affair. Matter, he held, can exist in a crude form in lower orders and in a higher form in spiritual bodies.

In the Alexandrian school, especially in Origen, there is a thoroughgoing and consistent restatement of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection. The ground for this view is found not merely in Scripture, but also in the laws and constitution of matter, in the nature of the soul, and in the germinating principle of the Logos. This view of the resurrection does not clash with his theological principles. Besides, in Origen there is the first real effort made to point out that the resurrection narratives in the gospels do not consistently teach the resurrection of a material organism, but that there is something in those narratives which pre-supposes a spiritual body.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LATER WRITERS

The idea of a bodily resurrection in the material sense received its fullest development through Tertullian, while with Origen the Pauline idea prevailed. The remaining monuments of the early church, falling within the third century and the first quarter of the fourth century, follow in the footsteps of Irenaeus and Tertullian, while the conception of Origen falls into disfavor. With the exception of Lactantius, the story of the resurrection from henceforth moves along the path which former writers have trod—with little increment.

Methodius stands out most prominently. He vehemently assailed Origen's idea of the resurrection, and this occasioned a special work of his, *On the Resurrection*. The original work is lost, but large extracts have been preserved in Epiphanius and Photius. Like his *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, it was in the form of a Platonic dialogue, in which the arguments of Origen are set forth and refuted. He declares that the resurrection body is to be identical with the mundane body: "The body shall rise with bones again joined and compacted with flesh" (*Banquet of the Ten Virgins* IX. 2). The only distinctive marks of the resurrection body are an absence of dissolution and a freedom from the stains and pollutions of sin. Through death the very root of sin is torn out of the flesh; and the body, like a restored temple, is raised up again with the same parts uninjured (I. 5);[1] or it is restored like the recasting and remodeling of a statue when spoiled (I. 7, 8); or like the conflagration of the earth which, after being purified will again exist (I. 9). Christ, he declares, did not say that in the resurrection men are to be transformed into the nature of angels; he simply said we shall be *as* angels, but not angels as they are without bodies (I. 10–12).

Almost all his arguments are manifestly borrowed from his predecessors. Thus man is composed of soul and body, and in the survival of personality the body cannot perish. The term "resurrection" is applied not to that which is not fallen, but to that which has fallen and rises again, so that the reference is, not to the soul, which is immortal, but to the flesh, which dies (I. 12). The mystery of the resurrection has its parallel in the

[1] All references, unless otherwise stated are to the collected extracts of his lost work, *On the Resurrection*.

generation of man (I. 14). To Paul's expression, "flesh and blood," is given an ethical meaning (III. 5). He sets forth, however, an original argument when he makes the Feast of Tabernacles a type of the resurrection. Just as the tabernacle when fallen down is again built, so our tabernacle when fallen down is put up again (I. 14). There is in Methodius the fullest expression on the resurrection subsequent to Origen, but it is in direct opposition to Origen's views of a spiritual body. He restates the creedal and orthodox position with perfect consistency, and forces Jesus and Paul to agree with him.

Hippolytus also declared that the resurrection must be taken to imply a material body. The fullest and most significant statement is in one of the fragments of his writings. In it he states that the soul of the departed passes into Hades. For the righteous this will merely be the temporary abode, but for the wicked it will be the ultimate receptacle. Then, at the appointed time, there will be a resurrection of all men, whereupon the soul will unite with the former body, and will not be transferred to another body as Plato had taught (Frag. *Against the Greeks or Against Plato*). There should be no difficulty, he continues, in believing in this resurrection; for if God, as Plato thought, originated the soul and made it immortal, then it should be easy for us also to believe that God is able to raise the body. There is a vast difference, however, between the resurrection bodies of the righteous and those of the wicked. The primeval transgression makes it necessary for the body to be committed to the earth. That of the righteous when raised will be molded anew, giving to it the qualities of purity and incorruptibility. "But the unrighteous will receive their bodies unchanged, and unransomed from suffering and disease, and unglorified, and still with all the evil in which they died." The risen body of Christ is the same body which he had before his resurrection. He is the firstfruits, and raises that flesh which is common to all humanity. Hence we have in him, as our Savior, an assurance also of our own resurrection. From the gospel narratives are selected the story of the empty tomb and the physical appearances of the risen Christ in John and Luke.

Minucius Felix says nothing of the resurrection of Jesus, and does not use Scripture to prove any of his ideas on the resurrection. The query and taunt of Cæcilius (*Octavius* 11), who wishes to know whether or no Christians rise again without a body, with the same body, or with another body, is answered. Octavius is made to say that the world is to be consumed by fire, since everything which has a beginning has an end, and that the ancient philosophers are not averse to a burning up of a world; yet it is evident that God will raise up our former bodies, no matter what

the condition after death will be. He employs the time-honored argument that that which was first formed by God can be re-formed, since the latter is the easier process. He also uses many of the analogies from nature which former writers had originated (*Octavius* 34).

In Commodianus chiliasm again comes to the front, and that in its most literal form. Millenarianism was still current in some circles. The resurrection of which he speaks is a literal restoration of the former body. The Lord will appear in a bodily form at the end of the ages and the fires will come and touch all places, but the camp of the faithful (*Instructions* 41–45). Commodianus is silent as to the final and general resurrection, but goes into details with reference to the first. In the first resurrection the city will descend from heaven; the believers will rise again and will be incorruptible; then they will live for a thousand years.

Cyprian presents us with an incidental reference to the resurrection, and that only with reference to Jesus. He emphatically asserts that Christ both "originated the resurrection of the flesh" and also showed himself to his disciples in his former flesh (*Epistles* 72:5). His other reference, being as striking and singular, reads; "[Jesus] appeared to his disciples as he had been. He gave himself to the recognition of those that saw him, associated together with him; and being evident by the substance of his bodily existence, he delayed forty days, that they might be instructed by him in the precepts of life and might learn what they were to teach" (*Treatises* VI. 14).

Novatian closely connects salvation with the resurrection of the body. He believed that if the body were not to rise then there would be no salvation, and if God were either unable or unwilling to save it then there would be no reason for having created it. Christ's resurrection was a fleshly resurrection, for he "was raised again in the same bodily substance in which he died;" which fact is evident from the wounds which he bore in his resurrection body. In Christ's resurrection is the assurance of our own resurrection, since he shows the laws of that resurrection common to men. Paul's expression, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," has for him reference to the guilt of the flesh and not the substance thereof (*Trinity* 10; cf. 21).

In addition to stereotyped creedal expressions which occur in his writings, Gregory Thaumaturgus refers to a few post-resurrection incidents in the life of Jesus taken from the gospels. "Christ, on rising from the dead, showed his disciples the print of the nails and the wound made by the spear, and a body that could be handled, although he also had entered among them when the doors were shut with a view of showing them at once

the energy of the divinity and the reality of the body" (*Faith* 1). Herein is a noteworthy increment in an effort to explain two ill-according ideas in a resurrection narrative. Another increment is the relation of the virgin birth to the resurrection. Jesus was born of Mary that the resurrection might be exhibited and life eternal instituted in the world (*Homily* II).

Archelaus does scarcely more than assert the reality of the resurrection of Jesus and the consequences accruing therefrom, in his opposition to Manes (*Disputation with Manes* 49). Alexander of Alexandria approached the resurrection from a truly theological standpoint. Through the fall man became subject to death, and in death the body is dissolved and returns to dust; but through Christ, of which his resurrection is an integral part, man's body is capable of being created anew in the future. An evidence of this he finds in Matthew's account of those who came forth from the tomb at the crucifixion, being released by Christ, and being the first to do so (*Epistle on the Arian Heresy* V. 3–6).

Arnobius adheres to the resurrection of the flesh, but in somewhat obscure terms. He finds it symbolized in Plato's myth, where the world begins and revolves in an opposite direction, and in which a reverse development from old age to childhood occurs (*Against the Heathen* II. 13). He scorns the heathen idea of a punishment in the infernal regions, when at the same time they teach that souls are incorporeal. The soul, however, is neither mortal nor immortal but neutral, and it, as well as the body, must be made immortal by the will of God (II. 31–36). With reference to the resurrection of Jesus, he says that after he arose "he manifested himself in open day to countless numbers of men;" also, "Lest they should imagine that they were deceived by unsubstantial fancies he showed himself once, a second time, yea frequently in familiar conversations."

In the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* the resurrection is described as follows:

> The almighty God himself will raise us up through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his infallible promise, and grant us a resurrection with all those that have slept from the beginning of the world; and we shall then be such as we now are in our present form, without any defect or corruption. For we shall rise incorruptible: whether we die at sea, or are scattered on the earth, or are torn to pieces by wild beasts and birds, he will raise us up by his own power (V. 1, 7).

The resurrection of Jesus as interpreted from the gospels is in a fleshly body (VI. 6, 30; V. 1, 7; V. 3, 19; VIII. 1, 1). The assurance of a fleshly resurrection he also finds in the symbol of the phoenix, in the examples of those who were raised, and in the analogy of procreation.

In the ancient Syrian documents there is very little on the resurrection;

enough, however, is found to indicate that whenever the term resurrection is used it has reference to the revivification of the former body; and enough to convince us that this was the belief of the Syrian church. In the apocryphal New Testament books the resurrection of Jesus assumes all kinds of fantastic shapes. This is especially noticeable in the *Gospel of Nicodemus;* wherein we may observe that, in addition to the appearances of those mentioned in the canonical gospels, there was an appearance also to Joseph of Arimathea. The writing also shows the importance which was attached to that Matthean narrative describing the guarding of the tomb. In the *Passing of Mary* the resurrection act of Jesus was repeated: Christ's tomb was empty, his mother was placed in it, her body was raised, and her ascension observed. In the *Revelation of John* every human being is spoken of as rising when thirty years old, so that in the hereafter all shall be of one appearance and one size, just like bees, not differing one from another.

In Lactantius we are confronted with a unique and peculiar situation. His teaching on the after-life abounds with inconsistencies. The only solution to the problem lies in the fact that the two streams of influence—the Greek and the Christian—continued to remain formative in his life without perfect reconciliation. Because he was converted to Christianity late in life, it is not strange that this should have been the case. In the first place, he sets forth the simple doctrine of the soul's immortality—and he devotes much more space to this than he does to the doctrine of the resurrection—in a most glorious light. The chief good is found in immortality alone. The world has been created that we may be born; we are born that we may acknowledge the Maker—God; we acknowledge him that we may worship him; we worship him that we may receive immortality as the reward of our labors; we are rewarded with immortality that we may receive the supreme Father and Lord forever, and may be to all eternity a kingdom of God (*Divine Institutes* VII. 6; cf. III. 12, 80). Immortality is a gift from God and conditioned on virtue, since otherwise there would be no difference between the just and the unjust (*Divine Inst.* VII. 5). In proving his doctrine of immortality he does not appeal to Scripture, but falls back on the heathen writers. Cicero and Virgil are especially appealed to.[1]

On the other hand, as an appendix to his work, and seemingly also as an appendix to his real convictions an this matter, he treats of a bodily resurrection. Strange, indeed, that side by side with his simple idea of immortality we should not merely find references to a literal resurrection

[1] Especially Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* I; Virgil, *Aeneid* VI.

of the flesh, but also an adherence to the millenarian and apocalyptic ideas (*Divine Inst.* VII. 24). There will be a resurrection of the dead, but how this is possible cannot be explained, and the only ground for a resurrection of the body which he presents is the ground that "if from the beginning God formed man in some unspeakable manner, we may believe that the old man can be restored by him who made the new man" (*Divine Inst.* VII. 23). He likewise conceived the resurrection of Jesus to be a bodily resurrection, dwelling in particular on the empty tomb in which nothing was left "save the grave-cloths in which he was wrapped" (*Divine Inst.* IV. 19–21). He invents a peculiar reason for Christ's bodily resurrection, maintaining that death on the cross was chosen because it reserved the body with the bones uninjured for the resurrection, which if broken would have been rendered unsuitable for rising again (*Divine Inst.* IV. 26). As to a spiritual body there is absolute silence. The only solution to these incongruous elements to which he holds lies in the fact that the Greek idea of immortality and the Christian traditional idea of a material organism were loosely held together in his system of Christian truth.

With the exception of Methodius, who turned the tide against Origen and caused the Pauline conception of a spiritual body forever to die out in Christian history, there is little significance attached to these later writers. The discussion of the resurrection is possibly a little more theological—relating salvation to the resurrection of Christ and to the resurrection of our own flesh—than it was in former writers. Lactantius, who stands at the close of our period, is interesting because he welded together the Greek conception of immortality and the Christian idea of the resurrection, but this was neither significant nor influential.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In making a recapitulation of this survey, we shall endeavor (1) to set forth the current idea concerning the nature of the resurrection body; (2) to indicate the formative influences which crystallized this doctrine and made it orthodox; (3) to exhibit all variations from this standard conception; (4) to point out the theological and apologetic arguments which were employed; (5) to set forth the use and interpretation made of Scripture touching the resurrection; (6) to present the bearing of the facts adduced with reference to the transmission of the gospel material on the resurrection of Jesus.

1. The current idea of the resurrection in the ante-Nicene period was that of a bodily resurrection in the material sense, or of this very flesh, with all its particles intact and unchanged. From the first post-Apostolic mention of the resurrection to the close of our period this conception is clearly traceable. Such is the view presented in all the surviving monographs of the period—pseudo-Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Methodius —and such is the conception which became crystallized in the early creed, which later on, in an enlarged form, became the common creed of Christendom. Even at the very beginning of our period Paul's conception fell into disfavor; and the idea of a fleshly resurrection, which subsequent Fathers more fully developed, with detailed descriptions and accumulated arguments, prevailed. The latter half of the second century and the opening years of the third, being the time of the labors of the apologists and the great polemicists, is the period when the fleshly resurrection was described in its fullest and most realistic terms. An absolute identity between the mundane and the heavenly body was maintained. The body is to rise with the same form, and with the same component parts and members, from the grave, as it possessed while alive. And not merely will the same body be restored, but also the same substances in the body. In fact, the former body will simply be reanimated and reinstated. Many a writer assumed a quasi-scientific attitude in his attempt to set forth, in detailed description, just exactly how the resurrection body is to reappear from its dissolved parts, and how the new corporeality is to be constituted. Even the very elements and minutest particles, even if they are dissolved and mixed up with other elements or assimilated into the tissues of animals,

will be recalled and will take their original place in the body which is to be raised.

The same gross materialism predicated of the future resurrection life of men was also ascribed to the post-resurrection life of Jesus. The fleshly resurrection of Jesus was attested with much more consistency, and with even a greater realism, than it was set forth in the canonical gospels. Thus, for example, in his post-resurrection life Jesus not merely ate, but the food of which he partook is purposely described, and it is even said that he ate expressly for the purpose of showing his teeth; he not merely revealed the Scriptures to his disciples, as the gospels tell us, but he also sang hymns with them; he not merely showed his crucified body, and challenged his disciples to touch and handle him, as set forth in John and Luke, but his wounds were actually touched, and he was actually handled; he not merely is described as ascending into heaven, with a silence as to the nature of the body which ascended, but his ascension as well as his session is in "this very flesh."

A few modifications in the resurrection body were allowed by nearly all writers who held to these extreme physical conceptions; but in their minds these did not in the least contradict a fleshly resurrection. Thus, it is often asserted (1) that the flesh rises perfect and entire, without any defects and deformities which may have been acquired through birth or accident; (2) that the body, rising with its former members and organs, will, nevertheless, lose some of the functions pertaining to these organs, especially those of procreation and digestion; (3) that the animalism and the corruptibility adhering to the earthly tabernacle will find no place in the resurrection body, since it will be clothed upon with incorruptibility. These characteristic changes refer only to the resurrection of the righteous; while the resurrection body of the wicked—whenever such a resurrection is predicted—persists in all its former defects, diseases, and corruptions.

Doubtless in many cases where the resurrection is referred to without specifying its character, it is a fleshly resurrection that is tacitly assumed. This materialistic view is unmistakably present in the apostolic Fathers; but it is briefly stated and suggested, rather than elaborately argued. In the apologists the same idea assumed a more definite form, a firmer ground, together with an appeal to reason. While in the polemicists the same idea was couched in unequivocal terms, and not merely defended through reason, but also supported by Scripture. The most comprehensive presentation of this doctrine appears in Tertullian, who gathered together every item of evidence and used every thread of reason which his master mind could marshal. Subsequent writers walked in the footsteps and

under the shadow of this first great Latin theologian, calmly and securely, so that their contribution to the idea of a fleshly resurrection is very small. Indeed, this latter statement need not be confined to our period; it applies to all subsequent Christian history. The phrase "resurrection of the flesh" is found nowhere in Christian literature prior to Justin (*Dia.* 80), but the belief in the resurrection of the flesh was current and widespread long before the phrase was coined. In fact, there is a progression of terms each conveying the same content—the resurrection of the dead, the resurrection of the body, the resurrection of the flesh.[1] The first is mainly biblical, the second belongs chiefly to the early Fathers, while the last superseded both and became the universal phrase of Christendom, finding its way into the Apostles' Creed.

2. Four influences were formative in creating, establishing, and standardizing the idea of a resurrection of the flesh such as has just been described. Two of these were negative—Hellenism and Gnosticism; and two were positive—Jewish messianism and the resurrection narratives of the gospels.

a) We began with an a-priori presumption that because Christianity was very early transported to Graeco-Roman soil, Graeco-Roman influences would be operative. An inductive study has revealed the truth that the Christian idea of the resurrection was materially influenced by the Greek conception of immortality. Contrary, however, to the usual influence of Greek thought on Christian ideas, the influence in this case was emphatically negative. It has been correctly pointed out that the tenets of official orthodoxy, especially with reference to the idea of God and the person of Christ, are highly colored, in form and content, with Graeco-Roman thought. But with respect to the resurrection this statement does not hold good. There is no compromise with the Greek idea of immortality, but an opposition to it. The early church set itself so rigorously against the simple doctrine of the soul's persistence without a body after death, that, in opposition to it, it was impelled to set forth a most literal and gross conception of the resurrection. The resurrection of a physical body was very abhorrent to Graeco-Roman culture; because in it the Platonic idea of the body—τὸ σῶμα σῆμα—is pronounced. And, in opposition to Platonic dualism and the disparagement of the flesh, the apologists not merely undertook to show its worthfulness, but also took in hand a detailed demonstration of the resurrection in a quasi-scientific manner.

b) Gnostic influence is parallel to Hellenistic influence, and, in reality,

[1] The change in the titles of the early monographs is scarcely accidental, but conveys some significance: Pseudo-Justin, περὶ ἀναστάσεως; Athenagoras, περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν; Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Carnis.*

was an indirect way in which Greek influence operated most strongly on Christian ideas. The Gnostics denied the salvability of the flesh and its resurrection; and thereby erecting a hostile camp, they became a negative influence in the creation and the establishment of the orthodox position. The church at large set itself most vehemently against Gnostic cosmology, and the dualism and Docetism accruing therefrom. The idea of the resurrection was the crux of the whole matter. Gnosticism outlined its whole scheme of redemption by beginning with a denial of a fleshly resurrection. Irenaeus and Tertullian met, in a great intellectual combat, every argument of their opponents; and in doing so they converted the idea of the resurrection of a material body into a still more materialistic conception than Hellenism alone would have forced them into, allowing no room for any variation or shadow of turning. Just as the articles of the Apostles' Creed were called forth by a contra-Gnostic or contra-Marcion tendency —of which the resurrection of the flesh is one expression—so likewise the bulk of the arguments in proof of the resurrection of the flesh arose because of the counter-arguments of the Gnostics. Indeed, these negative influences—the Hellenic and the Gnostic—were important factors in the determination of the crystallization of the resurrection conception.

c) It was pointed out in a former chapter that the Jewish belief in the resurrection, save in Alexandrian Judaism, was that of a bodily resurrection in the material sense for the purpose of participation in the messianic kingdom. The resurrection was a preliminary condition of entrance into that sensuous kingdom to be established at the time of the Messiah's coming. This eschatological element was all-controlling in the days in which Christianity had its birth and early development. Messianic and apocalyptic ideas were bodily transferred to Christianity. Salvation was a thing of the future, and it included the enjoyment of a visible and a material kingdom to be established at Christ's second coming. A necessary corollary to all this was a general resurrection in which the dead bodies were to be reanimated and reinstated. The Jewish apocalypses imbedded in Christian thought and literature, such as those found in the eschatological discourses of our canonical gospels, and the apocalypses of John and Peter, were a most potent influence in the creation and the establishment of the idea of a fleshly resurrection. Chiliasm likewise was an element which played no small part in the formation of the resurrection conception. The saints who were to share in Christ's kingdom on earth were represented as rising in the flesh; and it was a logical sequence to project into the second resurrection that which was true of the first. When, however, the sensuous view of an earthly temporal kingdom died away,

and when chiliasm was no longer in force, and when the goal of future destiny immediately became heaven, the idea of the resurrection of the flesh continued to persist in spite of the cessation of the influence that gave rise to it. Though the Christian idea of a bodily resurrection was propped by other than Jewish influences, it must not be forgotten however that it had received a momentum from Jewish messianism which carried it along in history beyond the days of chiliasm and apocalyptic ideas.

d) Similarly, the gospel narratives of the resurrection of Jesus, both canonical and uncanonical, were formative influences in the creation and crystallization of the orthodox position. These narratives, as a whole, give us a picture of a mere revivification of a fleshly body, which had lain in the tomb. The empty tomb and the nature of the appearances as described in the Gospels of John and Luke naturally control the uncritical student in the formulation of his conception of the resurrection. These narratives are so realistic and so simple and so vivid that when once read or heard they cannot easily be blotted out of the memory; and the tendency in every uncritical mind is so to interpret all the post-resurrection narratives as to accord with the most realistic ones, and also to interpret Paul and Jesus in consonance with them. Unequipped with critical apparatus, the ante-Nicene Fathers did just this very thing—which indeed has also been done repeatedly since. The account of an empty tomb and a bodily appearance had been a potent influence ever since it was conceived, but more so after oral tradition was succeeded by written narratives, and stlll more so after these had become canonical.

3. A bodily resurrection in the material sense, though it was in the ante-Nicene period, the prevailing view, was, however, not the exclusive view. A variety of other views which differed considerably from that of the church at large were sometimes held and received currency in some circles. Naturally we think first of the Gnostics, who believing only in the future existence of the soul, denied the salvability of the flesh and disclaimed its resurrection from the grave. Their psychology was Platonico-dualistic. They asserted the destruction of the body, but affirmed the eternal continuity of the soul. There was, however, a slight deviation from this elementary psychology on the part of a few Gnostic sects, but not to such an extent as to alter this fundamental tenet. Some taught a resurrection, not of the soul as such, but a continuance of something within the soul, the inner or intellectual life (Valentinus); while others maintained that the resurrection is neither of soul nor of body, but of a third substance (Lucan).

In the second place, there were those who interpreted the resurrection

in an ethico-religious sense instead of an eschatological sense. They taught that the resurrection has already taken place in the believer who has started in the new life. Such a view is referred to in II Tim., and reappears more fully in *Paul and Thecla*. Now the Pauline view of the resurrection is found only once in our period, and that is in the Alexandrian school. Origen deliberately denied a fleshly resurrection and held consistently to a conception compatible with Paul's characterization of a spiritual body. This, in fact, is the only Pauline peak in our period. The ground on which Origen based his ideas was twofold: a correct interpretation of Pauline teaching, and a philosophic conception of matter not incongruous to a spiritual body.

As a rule every Christian monument of our period is consistent—that is, it holds to the one or the other view—but there is also an inconsistency in some writers, or rather an overlapping of one view upon another. Just as in the resurrection appearances described by Luke and John the idea of a spiritual body and of a material body are placed side by side, if not interwoven or even welded together; so likewise in the Fathers personal immortality (Greek), spiritual body (Paul), and a material body (Luke–John) sometimes overlap, and this in various combinations. Athenagoras postulates a resurrection of the flesh in as gross and material a form as could be imagined, and yet there are passages which undoubtedly reflect a Pauline thought, and when read in isolation from the rest, come close to the idea of a spiritual body. In fact, he goes so far as to use the term "heavenly spirit" for the resurrection body. This is the clearest instance of the overlapping of the Pauline idea upon the fleshy idea. This was presumably a conscious overlapping, and we are of the opinion that the same thing is true in a lesser degree, and unconsciously, in some others. Even Irenaeus and Tertullian, the strongest advocates of a fleshly resurrection, were driven to make some compromises with Jesus and Paul whom they interpreted. They compromised in so far as they predicated a clothing upon and an incorruptibility and a state of discontinued organic functions. In Lactantius, on the other hand, there is a syncretism between the Greek idea of immortality, to which he logically holds, and the current conception of a fleshly body, associated with the crudest chiliasm. And in Clement of Alexandria there is an eclecticism of terms, culled from three possible conceptions.

4. A variety of arguments were adduced in support of the fleshly resurrection, and various theological implications were attached to this idea. Gnosticism vilified the flesh and denied its salvability, while the Alexandrian school held to its inferiority; but the church at large—and

this was often the first step in the argument—associated salvation with the resurrection of the flesh. The two ideas were as a rule inseparable, so that salvation of the flesh and resurrection of the flesh became synonymous terms. Salvation was conceived wholly eschatologically; it meant, in its Jewish coloring, eternal life and the enjoyment of everlasting felicity in the presence of God and in company with his saints. Eternal life apart from the participation of the flesh was conceived impossible. Hence the necessity of proving the religio-ethical worth of the body, which was the second step in the argument. The flesh was created by God, and not by the Demiurge or angels; it had a special creation, was stamped in God's image, is the temple of the Holy Ghost. God, it was declared, could not destroy his own creatures, much less his image in which his Spirit resides. Hence the flesh cannot be destroyed, but must rise again. Furthermore, the flesh is not the sole source of man's sinfulness, but both soul and flesh act together; wherefore both must again be united after death for judgment.

More significant still is the use made of the resurrection of Jesus in this connection. The earliest apologetic use of the resurrection of Jesus was to show his messiahship, as is clearly indicated in the New Testament. Then his resurrection was made an apologetic to substantiate his divinity. But the chief use to which his resurrection was put, and that very early (cf. Ignatius), was to prove his humanity and the reality of his flesh. The proving of the physical resurrection of Jesus was often for no other reason than that it served as a link in a series of anti-Docetic arguments in which the reality of the flesh of Jesus was at stake. One purpose of adducing Christ's resurrection was merely to show that he really assumed flesh. In the theological thinking of the early church, the reality of the flesh of Jesus and the resurrection of that flesh were indissoluble, and of momentous consequence to man's redemption and salvation. The reason that Christ assumed flesh was—it was alleged—for the purpose of saving the flesh of man, which otherwise would have been destined to decay: that is, in Christ's flesh and in the resurrection of that flesh is the assurance of our own fleshly resurrection. It was also asserted that if Christ's resurrection was not a bodily resurrection in the material sense then the Eucharist is of no effect, and man fails to take the "medicine of immortality." A few of the Christian Fathers also associated the virgin birth with the resurrection, affirming that through that birth his flesh became incorruptible so that it could rise again. The Pauline idea that Jesus was raised for our justification is however, never referred to.

But there were also other arguments in support of the current conception of the resurrection. The arguments thus far considered, from the

standpoint of salvation, applied only, in logical consistency, to the righteous. But the unrighteous souls were also conceived of as coming forth from Hades on the last day uniting with their former bodies, that they might be judged and receive punishment. Although the soul, whether spoken of as corporeal or incorporeal, was thought of as being sensible to inflictions and blessings; nevertheless, full recompense could not be given in the disembodied state. Again, it was thought unworthy of God's goodness and justice not to allow the flesh to share in the rewards of its good works, or in the punishment of its evil works. Finally, the Fathers undertook to show that the resurrection of the flesh was perfectly natural, and that God has both the power and the knowledge and the will to bring it about. If God could create the body in the beginning, he surely can re-create it from the dissolved elements at the last day. The analogy of the seed, the plant, the heavenly bodies, and the seasons, and the symbol of the phoenix were furnished as collaterally confirming the possibility of the resurrection. The mystery of life and growth from procreation, the scriptural miracles of healing, and the final end of man were also used as proofs of a physical resurrection.

5. Just as there is no uniform conception of the nature of the resurrection, so there is also no uniform system in the use and interpretation of Scripture. Those who adhered to the current conception of the resurrection, as a rule, followed in a certain line, and deviated very little from one another; while the methods of Origen and the Gnostics are at variance with them. The church at large, from the very first, endeavored to find authoritative proof in the Old Testament in support of its doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh. The two passages in the canonical Old Testament literature which set forth a resurrection were used a few times as proof-texts: the passage from Isaiah being used at least six times, the passage from Daniel, three times. However, in their search for proof-texts and in their dependence upon the Septuagint, which at times deviates from the original, the orthodox Christians found a great many passages substantiating the resurrection of the former body. Psalms and Job were freely used in this way. The translation of Elijah and Enoch, the preservation of Jonah in the whale's belly, and the preservation of Ananias and Azarias and Misaël in the fire were also used as proofs of the possibility of a bodily resurrection. The classic example in the Old Testament for them was Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones. There was also a slight dependence on the apocalyptic literature, especially the Book of Enoch.

As concerns the usage of the New Testament, there is, in the first place, a dependence on the Christian apocalypses as preserved in our gospels,

in Paul, and in Revelation. The parable of Dives and Lazarus, too, was freely used in the interest of the resurrection. Nevertheless, the most significant and far-reaching use of Scripture was in reference to the resurrection narratives of Jesus. Literary dependence is shown on all the canonical gospel narratives, and explicitly on one uncanonical gospel—the Gospel according to the Hebrews, used by Ignatius and Origen,[1] and probably by pseudo–Justin. Ignatius places it on a par with the other gospels and selects it for his purpose, because a certain passage in it portrays the physical resurrection of Jesus in bolder relief and with more consistency than it is depicted in the canonical gospels. Origen states that this book is uncanonical, but yet he feels that he must make use of a certain striking expression, which was perpetuated through it. This fact is sufficient to suggest that this gospel must have been influential, and that the resurrection account contained therein exerted a silent influence. It seems evident, therefore, that pseudo-Justin, and some of the other writers in whose works there is such a realistic description of the touching and handling of Jesus, were either directly or indirectly influenced by this gospel.

In the use of the canonical gospels the same principle of selection which controlled Ignatius persists. The literary use of the resurrection narratives of the Gospels of John and Luke exceed those of Mark and Matthew in the proportion of one to ten, and if we deduct the present conclusion of Mark, we shall have very little left which is taken from Mark and Matthew. The account of the watch at the tomb and the report to Pilate received some attention; Jesus' appearance to the women is spoken of only a few times, and then never in its purely Matthew-Mark form; while his appearance in Galilee (not speaking of the imbedded apostolic commission, which, of course, was often separately used) was practically never used, save possibly as it is caricatured in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The same principle of selection is still more marked within the Gospels of Luke and John themselves. The two outstanding accounts in which the fleshly character of the risen Jesus is most pronounced within these gospels, are Luke 24: 36–43; and John 20: 26–29. These two narratives are repeatedly and incessantly used by the Fathers, in preference to any of the other narratives within these gospels. And within these narratives two expressions of Jesus especially prevail: the one, "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having;" the other, "Reach hither thy finger, and see my hands; and reach hither thy hand and put it into my side." More-

[1] Whatever is the truth concerning the identity or relation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Doctrine of Peter will not in the least affect this deduction.

over, these narratives are not merely repeated as they are reported in our gospels; but, as a rule, they are highly colored with comments and at times misquoted. The accounts are elaborated to assert an unmistakable fleshly body. The challenge to be touched and handled is changed to a real touch and a real handling. The incongruity of having Jesus pass through closed doors and the next moment standing in his former body, as a rule, was not felt. Once or twice, however, an attempt of reconciliation was made. Irenaeus attempts to solve the difficulty, by trying to show that Jesus did the same thing before his death when he passed uninjured through the crowd that wished to apprehend him. Gregory Thaumaturgus explains the phenomenon by saying that the one act was to show forth the energy of his divinity and the other the reality of his flesh. One is surprised to find, however, that comparatively little use was made of the empty tomb.

In harmony with this interpretation of the resurrection narratives of Jesus is the attitude assumed to the teachings of Jesus and of Paul. The ante-Nicene Fathers interpreted Jesus as teaching the resurrection of the flesh in his discourse to the Sadducees. Tertullian is spokesman for the current view when he says that Christ affirmed the resurrection of the two natures of man—flesh and spirit. Paul was interpreted in the same way. His conception of a spiritual body, having found no acceptance, was explained away. The term "spiritual body" meant, in accordance with their interpretation, a body not devoid of flesh and blood, but regenerated and controlled by divine spirit. "Flesh and blood" was interpreted in an ethical, not in a physical sense. The expression "being clothed upon" could not apply, it was thought, to disembodied souls, but to a fleshly body. Paul's illustrations and comparisons were always used in the interests of a physical body. But what about incorruptibility, in the angelic state, and the purpose of this supervesture? This could not be boiled down in their material crucible. Hence the paradox—appearing a few times—that human beings undergo a change in their unchanged substance of the flesh.

Origen pointed out contradictory elements in the resurrection narratives of the gospels, and at the same time made argumentative use of these narratives in which the physical nature of the resurrection body is evidently affirmed but he spiritualized the accounts. Jesus, he maintained, existed in a body intermediate between the grossness of that which he had before his suffering and a disembodied spirit. He adopted, more or less, the interpretation current among many theologians today, namely that there was a difference between the post-resurrection body and the ascen-

sion body. Paul and Jesus are correctly interpreted by him and are made to conform to the conception of a spiritual body. The Gnostics allegorized the biblical term "resurrection of the dead," and conceived the resurrection appearances to be non-material, asserting that the flesh of Jesus was never real. They found also in Jesus and Paul a testimony to a non-fleshly resurrection. Although charged with allegorical interpretation, they for some reason or other came nearer to the conclusions which historico-grammatical interpretation reaches respecting the thought of Jesus and Paul than did the church at large with its dependence on the Gospel writers, and its control of Jesus and Paul by these.

6. Finally, the facts investigated will admit of another deduction, and that is with reference to the transmission of the gospel material on the resurrection of Jesus prior to the fixing of that material in our present gospels. Now if certain forces operated of which we have direct documentary evidence and if these forces were in existence before such evidence is traceable, then we may suppose that these forces which the evidence shows to have been operative operated further than the records directly prove. Our study has revealed the fact that certain influences were potent in the creation and establishment of the doctrine of the resurrection, that they operated from the very beginning, and that they were in existence in the time of oral gospel transmission—affecting naturally the later gospels, Luke and John, or the Judean cycle of resurrection appearances, more than the earlier gospels, Mark and Matthew, or the Galilean cycle of appearances.

Thus we have clearly discerned that the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh was a vital question in the ante-Nicene period; that even when many of the other doctrines of the church were not yet vitally discussed, much less systematized, the resurrection of the flesh had already reached its pinnacle, and had become a fourth article in the Old Roman Symbol added to the three of the baptismal formula; that in a little more than a hundred years after the death of Jesus the resurrection of the flesh was appended to a creed; and that in less than a hundred and fifty years after the First Gospel was written this doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh was fully developed, and almost the last words as to the nature of this body were spoken together with the apologetic and theological arguments in support of it. Moreover, we have also observed that there was a constant tendency in the church at large to define the resurrection of Jesus in ever more realistic terms, the crudest realism coming forth out of the apocryphal gospels; that, in the use of the gospel narratives, the written records were manifestly changed, through comments and variations in

quotations, in order to teach an ever more undisputed physical conception of the post-resurrection life of Jesus. Such a tendency appears still more clearly in a comparative study of the records in which the tradition of the resurrection narratives of Jesus has come down to us—whereby it is evident that, by pushing back through the uncanonical Gospel of Peter and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, or even to the epistles of Paul, we pass from the conception of a material body to a spiritual body, and that between these two extremes, that is, in Luke and John, there is an overlapping of both conceptions. We have also noticed that Gnosticism was a tremendous force; that in Gnosticism, Docetism was a ruling element; that in the early apologetic of the church the idea of a fleshly resurrection was used as a link in a series of arguments to substantiate the reality of Christ's flesh, and nothing more; and, significantly, that this incipient Gnosticism with its Docetic tendencies had its root far back in New Testament times. In like manner, we have observed that Pharisaic Judaism predicated a restoration of the former body for the purpose of sharing in the messianic kingdom and that early Christianity bodily inserted this into its system of thought.

Therefore, by bringing all these facts together, it becomes apparent that these positive, and these still stronger negative, influences on the idea of the resurrection were operative already in the period of oral gospel transmission, and that they must have been potent and formative on those resurrection narratives imbedded in the later gospels—Luke and John—narratives descriptive of actual appearances, which have had a real foundation in experience, but which, in the period of oral transmission, became highly colored with physical conceptions from an apologetic motive.

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